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ABSTRACT

In order to identify the barriers currently excluding women from equal access to non-traditional employment, a study examined ten agencies and programs in California which provide employment services to women. They may be categorized as either women's agencies, Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) subcontractors (employment services), private training institutions, or publicly funded training institutions. Findings based on in-depth unstructured interviews showed that agencies do not provide adequate presentation of non-traditional job possibilities, counselors lack training in non-traditional employment possibilities, and placement goals take precedence over women's needs. Traditional sex stereotyping, male attitudes, employer attitudes, conditioning, and lack of non-traditional role models are among barriers to non-traditional employment for women. Trade schools do not provide women with equal access to services or need instruction. Veteran's preference is among legal barriers to women entering non-traditional employment, and unions and training programs are among institutional barriers. Women should be added as a specific goal to programs funded to assist entry into the employment market. Also needed are technical assistance programs including counseling, job development, awareness workshops, career information services, physical preparedness and remedial classes. Creation of non-traditional jobs for women and training and placement procedures are needed. (Appended is a forty-five page bibliography.) (MN)

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THE CALIFORNIA STUDY ON WOMEN
IN NONTRADITIONAL EMPLOYMENT

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WOMEN IN NONTRADITIONAL EMPLOYMENT: IS IT WORTH THE TROUBLE?

> I would go off to these women's jobs and leave my family and they didn't pay enough to make it worth leaving my family for....I can't make enough to sustain me and my children or my husband if I have to. I don't want a supplementary income; I want an income....Now I'm going to be a good butcher. I'm not going to be a half-assed butcher, because I believe in whatever you do. If a woman wants to be a short-order cook, that's fine. But do it good, do it well.... I'm happy I have this job because I really, really like it; there's something you learn every day, and when you are learning every day it keeps you alive, and keeps you going and helps everyone around you. You're not just cutting meat, you're using your head. You think of different ways to use that product and you're involved in customer relations, too, and you get treated with respect after you establish yourself.
>
> I'm not very good at expressing things that happen or how I feel, but I like it, and that's all I can say about it. I think more women ought to get into it, they really ought to, but they've got to understand that it's hard work, but not as hard as the frustrations of staying at home all the time. To me it is more tiring to be bored than to be busy.
>
> So now I'm going back to school and getting everything that I need as a person in this job, and I thank God for it every day because it was sure by accident that I called. It was one of those things when I was home and I was lonely and I started looking through the phone book, and it was something that I had thought about and I didn't do....When you come to the point when you are ready to commit suicide because you don't see anything in life and you've got two beautiful children, and the house is nice,...you realize that this ain't right. There's something out there for me, and I went and looked and found it, and now I'd no more get rid of myself than I'd get rid of one of my kids, and when women do start getting out there, you're going to find divorce rates will go down. And I think that kids will grow up healthier and happier, because the kids won't be locked in, too....All my life I didn't know how I could be a person. Now I'm signing things not Mrs. John Rodriguez, I'm signing them Mary Rodriguez. That's how much confidence I'm getting in this job.
>
> (a woman respondent)

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1. Introduction

BACKGROUND

The California Study on Women in Nontraditional Employment was conceived in response to the observation that women workers continue to be concentrated in a relatively small number of occupations, typically those characterized by low pay and little status. Rather than attempting a comprehensive examination of the complexity of factors which maintain occupational segregation in our society, the proposed study seeks to identify and document those constraints which at present preclude women from equal access to what is commonly considered "nontraditional" employment.

It is not our task, therefore, to pursue the reasons clerical and service jobs came to be most often performed by women, or why this pattern has continued over time. We are concerned with the barriers which serve to impede those who do seek to enter the jobs currently held predominantly by men, including both the blue collar trades and white collar technical and managerial positions. For the purposes of our study, we are simply considering all jobs currently held by less than 25% women to be nontraditional.

A cursory comparison of employment patterns among present-day societies provides a lengthy list of sex-typed occupations. What is of significance to us is that a given job classification may be clearly defined as "women's work" in one culture, and alternatively as a "man's job" in another. Thus, we begin with the recognition that although virtually every society designates appropriate jobs for men or women, there is invariably an absence of qualifications, inherent in the particular task, that demands performance by one of the sexes.

If we acknowledge that the limits to women's participation in the labor force is not a function of physical attributes to any meaningful degree, it remains to explore the range of social and institutional factors which have perpetuated the phenomenon of male dominated job settings.

The very term "nontraditional", in the title of our study, signifies that certain areas of employment are not within the bounds of anticipated activity for women.

The use of such a word to encompass a wide array of job opportunities more than suggests that a woman who aspires to become, for example, a welder or an architect is intruding herself where she is unexpected and, most often, unwanted.

Until recently, social science research reinforced such a concept as "nontraditional" employment. By assuming a biological explanation for the differential experiences of women as compared to men in our society, studies bypassed any meaningful analysis of the whys and hows women come to be as they are.

Others have by now chronicled the process by which American society socializes its members, channeling them into prescribed roles to accommodate the collective need. It is obvious that the choice to enter a previously male domain is significantly reflective of childhood experience. We are assuming, however, for the purposes of our inquiry, that all women seeking nontraditional employment today do so within the context of a society which narrowed their options at an early age. Thus, although the insidious effects of sex-role stereotyping are documented throughout the study, our focus is not the global social reordering necessary for true equality of opportunity. That the state of California chose to conduct a study of women and nontraditional employment does, however, indicate a realization that the absence of women from numerous occupational categories has negative consequences in today's world.

The state's selection of Advocates for Women, an organization developed to prepare women to enter blue collar and white collar jobs usually held by men and dedicated to the goal of equal employment opportunity, underscores a presumption that the time for beginning to redress this grievance must be now. The first step in such an undertaking is to document the scope of the problem and identify the means for effecting change.

OVERVIEW OF THE REPORT

This report is a presentation of the major findings of an exploratory study of women seeking to enter male dominated fields. The study focuses on ten agencies and programs in California currently providing employment services to women, and has as its goal the strengthening and developing of those services which could be instrumental in increasing equality of opportunity for nontraditional employment.

The primary tasks of the study are to identify the barriers which continue to plague women in the nontraditional job market and to assess the effectiveness and usefulness of those existing programs designed to facilitate a woman's entrance into the job of her choice.

The report most significantly contains a cogent plea for programs more responsive to women's needs, as articulated by the job-seeking women themselves. Based upon what the numerous women respondents have outlined as severe barriers to occupational desegregation and reinforced by documentation indicating that the agencies are not sufficiently prepared to overcome those barriers, recommendations have been developed so that women may be provided with what they need.

Although the report includes some description of the policies and operations of the agencies under our purview, it must be remembered that an essential aspect of the inquiry is its exploratory study design. Our purpose is NOT to evaluate the agencies but rather to gain insight into the programs and processes which make employment services useful to women seeking to acquire nontraditional jobs.

It must again be emphasized that our central concern is with those existing agencies which could facilitate women's entrance into nontraditional employment. We thus direct our recommendations not to those numerous and diverse societal values and attitudes which continue to limit women's options, but rather set our sights more narrowly to provide for immediate and rapid change for women currently entering or already a part of today's job market.

2. Justification

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The number of women in the labor force has nearly doubled between 1950 and 1974 which means that women now account for 2/5 of all workers. The work-life expectancy of American women has drastically increased since the start of this century. During 1976 the female labor force has increased by 1.6 million--nearly double the number of new male workers. Women who are now working or actively seeking work number 38.6 million--making up approximately 48% of all women in the country. In view of institutional changes such as the decline in birth rates, the increase in divorce and single heads of household and legislation prohibiting sex discrimination, the work life of women will undoubtedly continue to increase.

Women's wages and opportunities, however, are not increasing proportionately to their rise in labor force participation. Women continue to be concentrated in just a few occupational categories. Annual averages for the year 1974 show 35% of women as clerical workers and 18% as service workers.[1] More than half the women workers, therefore, are concentrated in the traditionally low-paying occupations. Contrast this with just a few of the higher paying occupations (characterized as nontraditional for women) dominated by males:[2]

	F	M
Craft and Kindred workers	2%	21%
Transport Equipment Operatives	less than 0.5%	6%
Non-farm laborers	1%	8%

Whatever indicators are used, e.g. unemployment rates, wages, occupations, labor force participation, women appear on the low end. While in many cases the statistical picture for women may be brightening slightly, the increase does not nearly reflect the extraordinary social and economic change in the status of women since World War II.

Women currently rarely work to supplement a husband's income and provide luxuries, nor do they merely attempt to fill idle hours. Most women, like men, are working because they have to. A husband's salary alone often can no longer support a family. The large percentage of divorced women and the ever more acceptable option of remaining single speak to a female work force wanting a challenging career and an adequate living wage. The poor pay and lack of career ladders typically characterizing clerical and service jobs preclude this as a viable employment choice for many of today's women. The statistics underscore this point. Of the women in the labor force, 42.3% are primary wage earners.

23%	Single
19%	Widowed, divorced or separated

The median full-time incomes for women lag far behind those for men.

Women	$4,500 per year
Men	$7,000 per year

Another 14% have husbands earning under $7,000 and 11.4% whose husbands earn $7,000-$10,000.[3]

The high rate of inflation in recent years has cut real disposable earnings. 1970 data reveal that only 46% of all jobs in the economy paid enough to sustain the average family. Specific problems relating to the economic condition of women have been chronicled in Patricia Cayo Sexton's report on the impact of the manpower programs of the '60's on women, submitted to the U.S.D.O.L. Her research indicates that women benefitted less from the manpower programs than did men.

1. The total participation of women in the programs was significantly less than that of males.

2. The participation of women was lowest in the skill training programs, where most benefits were to be gained, and highest in the work experience programs, where reviewers reported there was least to be gained.

3. Women did not participate in the Apprenticeship Outreach Program at all, though it was regarded as the most successful of the programs.

4. Indications are that dropout was higher for women than men.

5. Indications are that job placement rates were lower for women than for men.

6. No programs were offered for mature women.

7. Hourly wage increases for women (pre and post enrollment) were slightly higher for women than men, but post enrollment wage rates for women were significantly lower in most cases than those of men.

8. Women were under-enrolled in those programs where pre-enrollee spending was highest.[4]

Our own research was not intended to assess the impact of the programs which we reviewed. However, our informal findings (of the mid-'70's) do not conflict with those bleak findings of the '60's.

It remains clear that in the area of occupational segregation there have been relatively few breakthroughs. Even when we see obvious statistical shifts in job categories, they are often misleading. In 1970, about 37% of the busdrivers were women, for example.[5] Many of these women, however, drive school buses part-time, part of the year and for low wages. What may appear to be an occupational improvement for women may actually represent insignificant gain.

It has become fairly common these days to read a human interest story in the daily newspaper or weekly and monthly magazines highlighting women in nontraditional jobs. Unfortunately, rather than indicating major inroads women have made, the message obviously is documentation of an exceptional circumstance. Whereas the "only woman plumber" in X county or the two policewomen (as opposed to police officers) on a large metropolitan force are newsworthy and should be given support, the numerous women seeking to enter nontraditional employment, who have encountered often insurmountable obstacles, must not be forgotten.

THE WOMEN SPEAK OUT

Given the increased labor force participation by women and the fact that occupational segregation continues to preclude equal distribution by sex among job categories, it remains to demonstrate that given the option women would seek to enter traditionally male domains. It has long been argued by those most invested in maintaining the status quo that the underrepresentation or absence of women in certain jobs is primarily a function of their preference for employment best accommodating their needs. The fact that the clerical and service jobs, which women presumably seek by choice, are invariably characterized by low pay and minimal prestige does not cause difficulty for those who present this view. Rather, their contention is bolstered by a variety of widely held myths about women and work which are only now beginning to be seriously questioned. If, for example, one accepts that women lack job commitment and work only until marriage and family provide them with a raison d'etre or that they work for "pin money" when the children are grown, it does not seem unreasonable to then assume that earnings and status are not priorities for women seeking employment.

However, even as the evidence begins to prove unequivocally that women are in the job market because of necessity, more and more frequently as sole providers for their families, it is still in question whether the deeply rooted prejudices against women departing from their prescribed roles will continue as the overriding barrier to their entrance into a nontraditional job.

Unless it can be shown that providing women access to all jobs would result in a more equitable distribution in the labor force, it will continue to be commonly believed that occupational segregation occurs because of a process of self-selection. The California study has begun to refute that assumption by giving numerous women the opportunity to speak to this issue.

The interviews conducted this year are clearly illustrative of a generation of women who are most definitely thinking about their lives in new ways. A striking manifestation of this change is the diversity in both vocational and avocational choice among our respondents. We talked to welders, carpenters, butchers and architects, to cite but a few in a rather vast array of employment possibilities. What has been particularly exciting to discover is that so many of these women, however dedicated, pioneering, persevering, and confident, are above all enthusiastic about their career choices. They like the work:

> The great thing in all of this is I like doing pipefitting. It's really something. I really like it! And I like welding. I took welding in this class, and I can weld damn good. I used a torch, and I never used a torch in my life. And I can use a soldergun. I can burn and all this good stuff.

They have discovered the kind of things they like to do and are pursuing careers that allow them to enjoy their work. In one woman's words, "I'd like to drive one of them great big rigs...because I don't like sitting behind a desk all day long, doing the same thing basically." Another enjoys carpentry because she likes to "work outside and be in a relatively independent position--I don't like to be fenced in." Whereas we often heard job counselors complaining that women typically could no more narrowly define their career interests other than to say, "I want to work with people", we were reaching women who articulated the opposite sentiment: "I'm not interested in dealing with the public. I'm real interested in working with a machine or a piece of furniture."

The range in motivation was as wide as the range in career choice. Whether a woman was moved to seek "nontraditional employment" because of financial reward, desire to escape from the confines of an office job, or the challenges inherent in a given job, it was readily apparent that these women were determined to succeed despite the multitude of obstacles facing them.

Nor were our respondents isolated cases of women making aberrant decisions about where they wanted to work. They spoke from sentiments shared by many of this new breed of women--women who must support families, women committed to personal growth, women anxious to have access to the total spectrum of employment opportunities. One young Black woman could serve as a spokeswoman:

> I was looking for something different. I don't want to be a secretary anymore cause there's just no chance of advancement. You're stuck, and I don't like the routine 8 to 5. The reason why I want something like this is not only because of the money, but because it is a chance to get into a career and something that will make me grow...

What was particularly striking about how these women perceived their work was the ease with which they move in their environment and the assurance and joy in the process of gaining technical expertise. We heard repeatedly about the satisfaction "of doing something really constructive...and really physical.... watching something actually getting made and knowing it's going to stay for awhile... it's such a feeling of fulfillment for me."

There was, moreover, a recognition that the time had come to challenge the mystique surrounding men's jobs. Our respondents were struggling to acquire jobs for which they were told they were unprepared and unsuited and were now in a position to assure other women that they were indeed equal to the task.

> One reason that they don't want women in there, I've discovered, is that they want you to believe that this stuff takes mechanical ability which men have and women don't. It's all a big hype. I don't believe that there's any such thing as mechanical ability. I don't believe that from what I've seen. I'm in there and I see that given the same amount of experience and the same amount of time that they've had, I'd probably be eight miles ahead of them. They want you to think mechanics is a serious thing. It's not--it's a process. You learn the process of how to think logically and how to take things apart and put them back together again. It can be learned by anybody who's intelligent. Once you have the basics, there's nothing. It's probably easier than learning other things that you do. You look around at the guys that fix people's cars--do they seem like they have any particular genius? They don't. Somebody just taught them at some point in their life, when you take something apart always look to see how you took it apart so that you can put it back together the same way, look for markings on one side to see where it was hitting--I mean you learn this. You learn what to look for just like a doctor learns what to look for or a mother learns what to look for. You can tell it's burnt because it's black, and it's cooked because the chicken is white.

Although relatively few women have thus far managed to enter traditionally male job settings, our findings indicate it is not for lack of desire. Rather, as this report details, the barriers to women who seek nontraditional employment are numerous and complex. The fact that so many women have spoken so eloquently of their willingness to pursue this elusive goal despite discouragement and harassment, and that those few who have managed to secure positions are so outspoken in their enthusiasm, underscores the goal of the California study: to strengthen and develop effective services aimed at increasing equal opportunities for women in nontraditional employment.

Footnotes

1. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Vol. 1, Part 1(D).
2. U.S. Working Women, A Chartbook, U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1975.
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4. Sexton, Patricia Cayo, Women and Work, a draft of a report to be submitted to U.S. Dept. of Labor, April 1976.
5. Waldman, E. and B.J. McEaddy, "Where Women Work - An Analysis by Industry and Occupation," Monthly Labor Review Reader, U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1975.

3. Study Aims and Research Strategy

STUDY GOALS

The purpose of the California study is to better understand the issues relating to the continued underrepresentation of women in what have long been considered men's jobs. The specific goal of our inquiry, however, is to strengthen and develop effective services aimed at increasing equal opportunities for nontraditional employment. Implicit in this goal is the assumption that policies and practices in the very agencies and programs designed to counsel, place and train women may in reality operate to limit a woman's options. It is our belief that these agencies are most likely to be unaware of their role in creating barriers for women who seek a nontraditional job. There is, moreover, little recognition by the agencies of how they might act affirmatively to help clients overcome those barriers.

By funding the California study, the state affirmed the need to know more about the process by which women are excluded from nontraditional employment. In addition, a priority was placed on finding means by which to improve a woman's chances of succeeding in securing and maintaining a nontraditional job. Identifying the barriers and documenting their existence is central to any significant rethinking of the state's overall plan for employment services. The study is designed, therefore, to most efficiently provide the state with documentation of the problems women face and recommendations for implementing change.

We chose to focus on those barriers over which the state government or individual agencies could reasonably exercise some control. We fully recognize that many of the reasons which often prevent women from aspiring to a nontraditional job or from succeeding even if they are placed, are beyond the reach of institutional influence. Whereas it is clear that true equality of opportunity can only come with a recasting of societal values, that task is of such magnitude as to be most awesome to contemplate. Rather than being overwhelmed by what must be done ultimately, we chose to direct our attention to what could be done now.

EXPLORATORY STUDY DESIGN

An exploratory study design was selected for our investigation. Where an area of inquiry is sufficiently uncharted so that the key issues or variables are not yet defined and hypotheses for empirical testing are not yet formulated, traditional research is ultimately unsatisfactory. In the present instance, not enough is known about the process by which women enter or are denied access to nontraditional employment to permit a more systematic survey.

In fact, the purposes or expected outcomes of an exploratory study, synonomous with ours, are to generate ideas and insights, develop and clarify concepts, formulate initial hypotheses for more precise investigation, and establish priorities for future research. As our intent is to examine in depth the situation facing a woman who seeks to enter a male dominated field, our study design and field methodology are based on the exploratory study model.

The essence of our findings, and thus our recommendations, derives from numerous in-depth unstructured interviews developed to surface the widest possible range of issues from a broad spectrum of respondents. As the initial stage of a planning process, it was imperative that those constraints which at present prevent women from equal access to nontraditional jobs be identified. A flexible format facilitating the generation of a complex and diverse data base was essential. An exploratory study design, in comparison to traditional research, has at its core the surfacing of salient issues which will shed light on the subject under investigation. Thus, it was obviously the most appropriate methodology given our study objectives.

The basic characteristics of an exploratory study governed a number of our methodological choices. This type of study design often depends on preliminary activities to narrow the inquiry's focus and develop a data collection strategy. The California study was ideally suited to this course of action. The compilation of a directory of agencies in our target areas (see Appendix A), which were involved in helping women to acquire nontraditional jobs, required contact with all programs possibly meeting our criteria. This quickly provided an overview of the services available to women seeking jobs and reinforced our initial belief that the most efficient means of providing women access to nontraditional employment was through agencies and programs structured to meet their needs. A primary concern of our study thus became the delineation of reasons why this phenomenon was not now occurring--why even the women who managed to find their way to an agency were still unlikely to secure a nontraditional job.

It also became apparent during our initial contacts with agency personnel that a vast discrepancy existed between their perceptions of the agency's effectiveness for women clients and the feelings shared by the women clients with whom we conducted preliminary interviews. From this recognition we derived our focus--the experiences of the nontraditional job seeker with the program or agency designed to provide employment services to her.

The exploratory study design renders the concept of "samples" unnecessary. There is no attempt to select representative respondents to allow statistical reporting for the population being investigated. Rather, those to be interviewed are chosen in order to collect the broadest scope of information most efficiently. It is advantageous to conduct interviews which will provide divergent viewpoints so that, as in our case, we will have a sense of the full range of women's experiences as they attempt to enter a male field. The findings of the study, therefore, are not to be construed as typical for either the women informants or the agency staff. It was instead our purpose to raise what appeared to us to be the significant issues relating to women's continued underrepresentation in certain jobs. Any generalizations we have drawn remain to be validated by systematic statistical methods.

The field data collection techniques selected were designed to meet the requirements of an exploratory study. In essence, this meant that each field visit was conducted in such a manner as to allow the maximum opportunity for the emergence of a broad, but yet uncategorized, range of respondent experiences and perceptions.

Since the purpose of the data gathering effort was to surface as many relevant issues as possible, visits to selected institutions were organized so that project staff could interview as many agency administrators, staff and women clients as time and busy schedules would permit.

Specific research methods were chosen when they proved useful and efficient for the exploratory study design. Thus, the interview format deemed most appropriate was one which provided for in-depth, open-ended pursuit of the complex issues to be examined. Techniques were designed to assure that a wide range of ideas, perceptions and observations emerges from the respondents and to allow the interviewer flexibility to follow aspects of the inquiry not originally envisioned but speaking to issues of critical concern to us.

Use of a predetermined survey instrument was obviously inappropriate for our purposes. Whereas a questionnaire can be extremely efficient when alternative replies are previously defined, where the objective in presenting questions to an informant is to generate data on perceptions and feelings, an open-ended approach is essential.

Even so-called "open-ended" questions are too restrictive for an exploratory study. We realized from preliminary interviews that the wealth of data being produced was dependent upon the interviewer's freedom to probe wherever salient issues appear. Rather than any form of survey schedule, therefore, we developed topical guidelines delineating general areas for discussion. One set outlined the significant topics to be explored with agency personnel, focusing on program components serving women. A second set was designed to allow the women clients discussion of the full range of their experiences associated with seeking a nontraditional job. (see Appendix B)

The final element characterizing an exploratory study and relevant for our project is that the methodology be flexible. During the course of the research, there is a continuous reassessment of the study design based on implications of preliminary findings. Concepts are refined, and field visit strategy is modified to incorporate new directions which have been suggested at each stage of the inquiry.

FOCUS OF THIS REPORT

An essential component of an exploratory study design is reliance on the observations and perceptions of those most intimately involved with the issues under investigation to define the scope of the inquiry and identify significant variables. Thus, it was for the women themselves--those who were still trying, those who had been discouraged, and those few who had succeeded in finding a nontraditional job--to identify from their own experiences the barriers to employment of their choosing. Similarly, it was for the women to address the critical issue of what could or would make a difference in their lives. It was for those who had acquired jobs to detail the factors that had been most effective in overcoming the barriers and assisted them to enter nontraditional employment.

Just as each woman's recognition of what could help grew out of her particular set of experiences as she sought to make it in a man's world, our recommendations as a whole evolved from the collective experience of the numerous women we interviewed. We chose to focus on agencies and programs throughout the state because it was apparent from the outset that this was the context within which to best explore the process by which a woman could, but invariably did not, achieve her employment goal. Since the agencies are the most obvious vehicle for implementing change and since part of our mandate was to assess the effectiveness of existing programs, the interface between our women respondents and the programs and agencies from which they sought assistance became our focal point.

Program evaluation of agencies serving women would have provided information about which components are more or less effective in helping clients and allowed us to develop a prototypical program most appropriate for getting women in nontraditional employment. Program evaluation, however, generally presupposes the existence of empirical measures of what are desirable ends. These data were not available to us given both the dearth of prior relevant research and the few women who have thus far reaped the benefits of programs designed to meet their needs.

This approach, moreover, was not consistent with our exploratory study design geared to identifying the broadest range of salient issues. Our delineation of agency components which are most effective in overcoming barriers to women entering nontraditional employment instead evolved organically from the women's articulation of their needs. Our recommendations, therefore, derive not from what we deemed to be good program components, but rather from what women indicated could have helped to pave their way toward a nontraditional job.

FIELD METHODOLOGY

Given our decision to focus on the experiences of women as they seek assistance from existing institutions, our data collection was organized around the agencies and programs serving women.

The process of compiling our directory provided us with detailed descriptions of most agencies. It remained to select a feasible number for more intensive study. Project duration and staff constraints were among the factors considered in choosing ten agencies for on-site field visits. Consistent with our exploratory study design, the selection process did not attempt to reflect a representative sample of programs throughout the state. Rather, our emphasis on generating the most comprehensive information, specific to nontraditional job seekers' experiences with the agencies, determined our choices.

Our preliminary contact with agencies confirmed that most employment and training money in the state is channeled through CETA, with the remainder predominantly coming directly from the Department of Labor. Since the majority of agencies are thus somehow involved with CETA and our project was being conducted with support from the state CETA office, one overriding interest became the developing and strengthening of effective CETA funded programs. The agencies chosen for our in-depth exploration thus include the most common types of publicly funded employment programs.

Whereas many of the agencies offer a similar range of services--recruitment, counseling, tutoring, job development and placement--one variant is the training institution. Given the significant implications skills training can have in improving access to certain categories of nontraditional employment, we have chosen to look separately at training programs. It must be noted, moreover, that although distinct entities, training institutions are closely linked to agencies which perform outreach and placement functions. Similarly, although women seek out training by their own initiative, many are referred by a publicly funded program. It is, therefore, imperative to include the training institution if we are to gain a full understanding of the process by which a woman attempts to secure a nontraditional job.

The ten agencies we visited cover four rather imprecise and overlapping categories which do, however, point out significant elements characterizing the programs.

Women's Agencies (with or without public funding)

The most striking factor among these agencies is that there is a decided emphasis on providing supportive services to the women clients. Even where direct placements are a priority, there is considerable energy expended on supplying the women with the requisite resources and attitudes to find their own jobs.

CETA or DOL Subcontractors (Employment Services)

These are public agencies most often having originated to serve minority clients. The funding sources have recently mandated that women are a target population, often specifically requiring placement in nontraditional jobs. Placement is the primary goal, and generally the only supportive services available to women deal with the practical considerations (e.g. transportation or child care).

Private-for-Profit Training Institutions (with CETA funding)

Many of the training schools in California are privately owned and operated. CETA, as well as other government programs, in part funds these institutions to provide services for clients. Within a given institution, there may be a separately administered program for publicly funded students which provides them with the services they require. The major concern of these institutions is quality placements which will generate more private business, and thus greater profits, for the school.

Publicly Funded Training Institutions (Non-CETA)

These are generally community supported training programs open to residents and including some students receiving CETA stipends. A wide range of services is available, often provided in a rather piecemeal fashion.

Our final selections included three women's agencies, two of which receive CETA funds. They share certain goals and program components but vary in target population, emphasis on placement and range of services provided. Only one of the three has a stated policy to assist women to enter nontraditional employment, but all are committed to expanding women's career options.

Five agencies visited were CETA or DOL subcontractors which had evolved to do outreach and placement for minority communities. All currently have stated goals of assisting women, as well as providing a variety of employment services to all clients. Four of the agencies have the specific objective of placing women in nontraditional jobs or training, and one is a unique program funded by CETA to arrange on-the-job-training (OJT) for minorities in a particular occupation.

One private-for-profit training program was selected. It serves a large urban area and is referred clients by the city-wide CETA system. Training for a variety of trades is offered, and an active placement component supplies graduates to numerous city industries.

A public training facility, serving a large metropolitan community, completed our field visit sites. It is the only publicly funded training program in the city, and a wide range of skills preparation is offered.

The basis for our field visit strategy was not to conduct a comprehensive investigation of the functioning of a particular agency. We instead selected the agencies to provide a context within which to explore the experiences of women attempting to find nontraditional jobs. We sought to assess the services offered from the point of view of the women clients themselves in order to identify the specific program components or characteristics of agencies which, in fact, facilitate entrance into male dominated fields.

Our interviews with agency administration and staff were designed to elicit their perceptions concerning women and nontraditional employment and to generate descriptive material about the programs with which they were involved. Interviews were scheduled, therefore, with staff from each of the components and with individuals who had been identified as having special contact with or interest in the women clients.

A preliminary visit was made to each agency to personally introduce the field staff and to fully explain the purview of our study. Cooperation was sought in scheduling interviews with agency personnel and in providing names of women who could be potential respondents. In some cases, the agency arranged the specific times and locations for interviews with women. In other cases, a list of names was made available to us, and we scheduled the interviews for mutually convenient dates.

Interviews were structured by the topical guidelines described above and were tape-recorded in order to assure complete reporting of the substance. Permission was requested prior to using the recorder, and in the few instances where its use was found to be objectionable, detailed field notes were relied upon. The interviews varied in length from thirty minutes to three hours and were conducted at the agency premises, at Advocates for Women offices or at the home of individual women clients.

Respondents were assured confidentiality, and at no time will individuals be identified by name or institution.

DATA ANALYSIS

The wealth of information accumulated in the months of conducting intensive interviews required that we set boundaries before beginning our analysis of the data. It was decided that much interesting material relating to individual women's lives or to various aspects of the agency context was beyond our purview. Our study focus served to delimit the analytic process by centering on the interface between the women, as clients, and the agencies providing services. Thus, we aspired to identify the barriers to women seeking nontraditional employment and to achieve a fuller understanding of the issues which could facilitate entrance. Our analysis was guided, furthermore, by considerations of what could have direct policy implications for agencies and for the state.

From our exploratory study design derives an approach which maximizes potential insight into the problem. In analyzing the data, our object was to develop theoretical constructs which would cast light on the issues relating to women and nontraditional employment. This was in contrast to a process designed to verify or validate a particular set of a priori suppositions--the typical hypothesis testing orientation characterizing most present-day social research. The standard approach is clearly inappropriate for our study. It is quantitative in emphasis and proceeds by establishing hypotheses about the relationships between critical variables. A survey instrument is created which allows field testing of the hypotheses, and the data is then statistically manipulated to determine the extent of the significant relationships. This technique obviously presupposes prior information about the subject under investigation, which has served to identify the critical variables and suggested possible interrelationships.

As we have already stressed, we are exploring an area little studied and thus are faced with the task of surfacing important issues and relationships among them. It is essential, therefore, that we employ a qualitative methodological approach--one that is "grounded" in the actual experiences and perspectives of the individuals directly involved in the problem. Our attempt is to get close enough to the social actors (women interested in entering nontraditional employment and the staff of agencies involved in helping them to do so) to frame a picture of their social world--how it operates and how they perceive it. To do this, it is necessary to shed any preconceived notions about the subject and to be guided by the unfolding results of the fieldwork experience itself.

> Instead of selecting a priori some set of criteria which the observer believes to be relevant, or which his preformulated theory tells him will be relevant, he strives to enter the cognitive framework of the members of the society.... If successful, he will have discovered the world as perceived by those he studies.[1]

Qualitative analysis evolves from the perspectives of the individuals under investigation. It is their social milieu that we seek to enter and understand. "....One must learn their ordering of the world, their categories for rendering explicable and coherent the flux of raw reality."[2]

The specific qualitative field method relied upon in the California study is the open-ended, probing interview which aimed, through its flexibility, to tap the essence of the relevant issues. The respondent generated the data by being guided through a conversation designed to elicit as much material as was able to be revealed. Skilled interviewers allowed the informants to pursue those topics about which they were most knowledgeable. Questions were posed to stimulate discussion or to more deeply probe fruitful areas. In contrast to a structured interview, our method of inquiry has been considered "a flexible strategy of discovery".[3]

"Analytic induction" is the primary tool by which to derive findings using our methodology. The transcriptions of interviews with the women clients and agency staff form the data base from which we built upwards a conceptual framework for describing and explaining the structure of their world. The categories, ideas, and sentiments of the social participants themselves was the basic unit of analysis, and from these we devised conceptual constructs, relevant theoretical abstractions, about what was occurring.[4]

The data were then reanalyzed using the concepts as organizing categories. The full meaning of the concepts was allowed to emerge, and the relationship between categories could be investigated to further understand the dynamics among them.

Thus, rather than constructing a theoretical model and testing it in the field, we selected an antithetical approach. Our theory is firmly "grounded" in the data and logic of the social context being explored. The discursive format of our report is the most appropriate means of presenting grounded theory. The perspective derives from the data and then is illustrated by characteristic examples from our field research. The theory was not suited to rigid codification, but instead we have chosen a "running theoretical discussion using conceptual categories and their properties"[5] as the most effective way to present our findings and conclusions. Our recommendations again are firmly "grounded" in the respondents' perceptions of their experiences--what is delineated is in actuality an articulation of the women clients' expressed needs.

Footnotes

1. George Bathas, James Hensten, "Dispatched Orders and the Cab Driver," Social Problems, Vol. 14, No. 4, Spring 1967.

2. John Lofland, Analyzing Social Settings, Wodsworth Publishing Co., Belmont, California, 1971, p. 7.

3. Ibid., p. 75.

4. Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research, Aldine Publishing Co., Chicago, 1967, p. 23.

5. Ibid., p. 31.

4. Study Findings

THE AGENCIES

Introduction

We begin with the premise that girls in this society are taught early what are appropriate aspirations. By definition, a job characterized as nontraditional is considered to be in conflict with the usual roles assigned to women. One who seeks such employment, therefore, must confront traditional societal notions of what is acceptable behavior and must persist to overcome the numerous barriers blocking her path.

It is the purpose of the California study to identify those constraints which may be remedied by future policy decisions at the state or local level. Having determined that those agencies and programs currently serving women seeking nontraditional jobs are the most obvious vehicle for change, we seek to outline those factors inherent in the operations of these institutions which function as barriers to women's progress. We attempt, in addition, to delineate the ways in which agencies may take the initiative to facilitate women's entrance into traditionally male jobs.

Whereas we rely upon the women themselves to surface issues around the agency's effectiveness in providing the necessary resources and support, it was imperative to first gain some perspective on how agencies and programs currently operate. In order to gain insight into the programs and processes which can make employment services useful for women, it was necessary to have an overview of the existing institutions.

Among the ten agencies visited are included all the program components relevant to women seeking nontraditional employment. Interviews conducted with agency administration and staff were used to generate descriptive information about the policies, programs and service delivery style of each agency and to evoke perceptions and attitudes about women entering traditionally male jobs. Our objective is to ascertain how existing services now fail to encourage women to pursue a nontraditional job and to identify those components which have the potential for effectively channeling women into new areas.

Agency Presentation of the Nontraditional Employment Option

It must be clearly noted that the data on specific agencies has been gathered by means of taped interviews with staff members. Much of what we describe is simply what has been reported to us. Thus, there are numerous situations where individual staff have detailed program or philosophy in decidedly different terms. For our purposes, these seeming contradictions are of little consequence. It is for us to assess program effectiveness by determining whether women are being served, independent of the varying depictions of what any agency does or believes it is doing.

Our own observations, drawn from visits to the agencies, provide additional descriptive information. Given that we are concerned with women entering nontraditional employment, we are singularly interested in how each agency integrated this orientation into its program. What becomes immediately apparent is that agencies attempting to serve women who might be candidates for nontraditional jobs have serious difficulty in handling this employment option.

In no case is a woman client automatically presented with the full range of choices open to her. For a variety of reasons, which shall be enumerated throughout this report, it is our conclusion that many women who embark on an actual pursuit of a traditionally male job do so in spite of, rather than because of, their involvement with an agency.

The intake processes women encounter invariably fall short of the essential element for even moderate success--that a woman, at the outset, be thoroughly and objectively informed of the variety of options available to her. Obviously, if she is presumed to have determined her career aspirations prior to seeking assistance from an agency, the complete burden of combatting sex-role stereotyping in occupational choice falls to the woman client herself.

An increase in the number of women seeking to enter nontraditional employment demands that existing agencies highlight this option for clients needing assistance. In large, multi-faceted institutions, intake for a wide variety of programs being offered is typically handled at a central location. Usually this means a low-paid, over-worked, harried, and sometimes angry receptionist greets a walk-in client. Since the position is frequently characterized by high turnover, it is not unusual for the receptionist to have only vague knowledge of the available programs and no training in making meaningful referrals. Rather, she most often operates from instinct and refers a woman to what she thinks may be appropriate or convenient. In many cases, the receptionist has extremely traditional work attitudes for herself, which are subtly or overtly transmitted to the job seeker. The option of nontraditional employment is rarely posed in an enthusiastic or even realistic manner.

Women's agencies, dedicated to providing support to clients, may be as unsuccessful in providing an adequate presentation of nontraditional possibilities. At one such institution, for example, a woman is queried upon entrance as to whether she wants to attend the blue or white collar informational workshop. This presumes that a woman, upon her first visit to an agency, has already determined that she is seeking blue or white collar work. There should be a process preceding this workshop option that enables a woman to explore the elements of her decision. Instead, current practice precludes clients from being eligible for counseling until after workshop attendance. While it is possible that during subsequent counseling sessions a woman may rethink her initial employment choice, many will never do so. Thus, the dissemination of a wide range of career information is imperative prior to decisions which foreclose numerous job opportunities.

Agencies designed to serve a minority population have analogous difficulties incorporating the nontraditional option into their programs. At each institution of this type that we visited, it was extremely difficult to derive a clear picture of the intake process. The reason for this may simply be that the procedure itself is so unstructured. A walk-in applicant is not adequately provided with relevant information about choices available or given an understanding of how and why she will be referred to a particular program. The process assumes applicants have predetermined career goals, or it makes the requisite decision for the client. The training institutions similarly lack an effective system, and women seem to get there by their wit and strong determination.

The difficulties facing agencies in preparing women for nontraditional employment are numerous and diverse. It is our intent to now focus on those aspects of service delivery at specific agencies which either facilitate or impede the progress of women toward traditionally male jobs. Whereas some of the potential barriers shall be immediately apparent to the reader, some of the information provided by agency staff appears to have only positive or neutral implications. It is only later, superimposing the experiences of the women clients on program characteristics, that we can more fully appreciate the magnitude of the problem we have begun to address.

CETA Funded Minority Agency I

This is a local affiliate of a national minority service agency and provides a range of services and programs to the local community. In addition to our specific interest, Employment and Training, programs are offered in community education, business development and outreach, economic development and family planning. Staff reports that a person making contact with the agency receives a complete description of all available programs and is referred wherever space is available or specific interest lies.

This agency is deeply invested in the minority population it serves but has in the past lacked a specific commitment to improve the economic status of women. The employment components have always been concerned with placement and/or training and continue to be. The agency has been known in the community for many years, and thus it is considered a logical place to go when job seeking. A program designed to assist women enter male dominated fields has been a very recent innovation.

A Nontraditional Program Is Treating Its Clients Traditionally. The previously existing recruitment, outreach and intake system has been utilized for the new CETA funded nontraditional project. This immediately suggests a potential difficulty for women. There is a failure to sufficiently acknowledge that the core of the project is to introduce the often totally unfamiliar concept of nontraditional employment to clients who have had little prior reason to consider such job choices.

A one-year project has been designed to place thirty-one women, low-income heads of households, in what have been predominantly male OJT positions. Most of these women, according to staff, have limited employment and educational backgrounds. Their expressed goal is obtaining a job with good wages. To serve these clients, it is imperative that the agency build into their process a means of countering the long-held notions about what is appropriate work for women. Merely creating nontraditional placements and offering them in the same manner that clerical or service jobs are presented does not provide a meaningful alternative for many women.

How the Process Limits a Woman's Exposure to Nontraditional Employment. A woman who comes to the agency begins by completing several forms, agency and CETA, which determines her eligibility for the program. She is then asked to fill out an Employment Service Program Sheet to indicate her interests, strengths and weaknesses.

The intake counselor explains the program, how it was founded, how many slots there are and the placement procedure. If a woman is unfamiliar with the concept of nontraditional employment, there is some discussion about men's vs. women's jobs, and a list of nontraditional jobs for women is used for illustration. The initial intake is relatively brief and cursory. The women are generally unaware of nontraditional employment possibilities but urgently require jobs.

The actual counseling process is handled by the job developer/counselor and is employment oriented. It is usually conducted on a one-to-one basis and, when necessary, vocational evaluation testing is used. The process does not include on-going workshops or seminars, but a group format may be used in situations where a sizeable number of women are to be referred to a particular job setting. The individual counseling provides some indication of what it is like to work in a male dominated field and suggests ways of handling potentially difficult situations when they arise.

The counseling overall is primarily job related. If, for example, there is a job opening, the discussion centers around that specific job. There is no real effort to counter the prevalent notions about women and work--to explore the full range of available options. The concept of nontraditional employment remains amorphous and irrelevant for all but a few of the clients. As one agency staff person told us:

> Most of them, I would say, are interested in doing whatever is necessary to make a living and get off welfare. This is what they say--but then if you send them out on an interview they don't really want to do that.

It would thus suggest that the prior counseling has not really prepared the women for the realities of nontraditional employment.

Untrained Counselors Can Provide Only Limited Assistance. The counselor quoted above is apparently aware that women clients need considerable information, exposure and counseling about nontraditional employment. There was little evidence, however, that this essential support is being provided. Although there is concern with the dilemma of women desperately in need of jobs but ambivalent about the notion of nontraditional employment, no effective means of generating enthusiasm for previously unthought of paths has been developed. Our interviewer observed the following scene: The counselor received a notice that a trade union was accepting applications and responded by telephoning a number of clients. Regrettably, she simply told the women to go "down there" and sign up. What she neglected to do was prepare them for the probability of finding long lines of men, likely to be hostile to them, and for encountering union officials who might be harsh and rude. It was not pointed out to the client, moreover, that she might very well be the only woman to appear. This set of circumstances represented an ideal opportunity for gathering several women clients in a group setting to role play the interview situation and explore ways of handling disparaging comments from the men. The women could thereby be provided with information about the union and the trade and, equally as important, could have gained mutual support from the shared experience.

Essence Magazine, a national Black publication for women, recently ran an article about nontraditional employment. This one source of information appears to have motivated a number of women to call this agency to inquire about such jobs. Here is one instance of women being exposed to a new concept in an unthreatening manner and then taking the initiative to pursue it further. Unfortunately, there was only minimal follow-through provided by the agency, and the women's initial willingness to expand their horizons rarely extended to actually applying for a nontraditional job.

Women who seek out a counselor at an agency are open to exploring career possibilities. Although they may not articulate their needs clearly, a good counselor should be able to assess how a client may best be served by the existing programs. Our interviews with women, however, do not indicate that their expressed interest in nontraditional employment was given serious consideration. Rather than providing women with the tools to meaningfully evaluate their own career options, only concrete information is available: "Yes, we do have a job to which we can refer you" or "No, we have nothing for you at this time."

When, as at this agency, counseling is inextricably linked to placement, a lack of actual job openings seems to preclude the education and exploration function so necessary to women clients.

How Placement Goals Take Precedence Over Women's Needs. Because the funding is specifically intended to place women in nontraditional OJT positions, the agency is committed to that placement goal instead of to all the requisite education, orientation and support necessary for staff and clients to allow women a fair chance at success. The nontraditional project is based on the same model as all the other Education and Training projects within the organization. There are no allowances for or recognition of the fact that women are different and specifically that minority women sometimes have strong sentiments about nontraditional employment. Overall, it does not appear that women are treated in a very different manner than they had been prior to the funding of a nontraditional project.

While the agency itself does not have a strong commitment to women in nontraditional employment, the nontraditional project staff does demonstrate some awareness of essential issues. They find it frustrating to deal with women at intake who are very anxious to work, yet quite unable to accept the unfamiliar concept of nontraditional employment. The staff regrettably is neither trained nor equipped for the arduous task involved in educating women and employers about sex-role stereotyping. Staff time and energy must continually be directed toward meeting the placement quota in order to justify additional funding. There is little surplus available to allow exploring new methods for better serving clients.

An essential program component for improving a woman's chances of success in nontraditional employment is follow-up by agency personnel. Although thirty-sixty-ninety day follow-up is required by CETA, the specific implementation will determine its effectiveness to women clients. At this agency, the failure to address the special needs of women precludes adequate follow-up on a regular basis. There is no systematic process which would assure subsequent support, and only an individual counselor's attitude and commitment can sometimes make a difference for a specific client.

Counseling--An Example to Emulate. In our first visit we met with a counselor who showed a deep personal involvement and understanding of her clients:

> ...as to why I'm here, things get rough; she needs someone to talk to and tell her why she's there, to reinforce what she's already done for herself. She's made that biggest step for herself. It's like a husband and wife team; that's what it takes; it's like a marriage between the counselor and the client for support.

This is the essence of effective counseling for women--the recognition of what must be provided--the extra push to continue when all seems bleak. Yet, making this philosophy operational requires concerted effort, even where the incentive exists. Thus, there is the vast gap between what a staff person recognizes and is committed to and what support the women clients are actually getting. In the case at hand, we have a model counselor and many needy women clients, but the program process intrudes upon the value of their interaction.

Reliance upon the personal qualities of agency staff to provide even marginally useful services to women is an extremely risky undertaking. Our revisit to this agency resulted in the disappointing discovery that the highly committed counselor discussed above was no longer on staff. Her replacement had been suddenly thrust into an enormously difficult position, and whereas she expressed deep concern for the women clients, her job would almost entirely consist of fulfilling the placement quota mandated.

Inadequate counseling and follow-up were not the only program components with inherent difficulties. Whether the job development component is serving women seems quite questionable in view of the tremendous obstacles to their entrance into nontraditional employment. With employers already resistant to the concept of OJT, presenting the idea of women in nontraditional OJT is an added complication. The existing state agency and local labor organizations have been nonsupportive, and other community agencies have been uncooperative and competitive. An inexperienced job developer interviewed was faced with these obtacles and understandably has been unable to meet her quota of thirty-one OJT placements.

CETA Funded Minority Agency II

The Male Minority Model--No Recognition That Women Are Different. This agency is an affiliate of a national social service organization. It has more than a twenty-five-year history locally and has been a major source of Employment and Training programs for minorities, particularly Blacks. A wide range of services is provided, and OJT programs have been included since their inception. The design and focus for all programs has been to meet minority needs.

A recently added nontraditional component is reaching essentially the same women who have used Employment and Training services here in the past. There is no evidence that recruitment and outreach are being done specifically to attract women to nontraditional employment. Whereas the nontraditional project is designed to assist women, placing it within the context of the larger agency structure implicitly, if unintentionally, assumes that women's needs will best be served in the same manner as are minority males.

Difficulties In the Intake Process. The intake process is difficult to describe because of the way in which the nontraditional project fits into the existing agency system. There are several OJT offices, as well as another placement project, in the vicinity. Job seekers usually visit the office located within their own community. A staff of two is responsible for the nontraditional project for a five-county area. Designated days are spent in each OJT office to serve that community of women, but office space is maintained in only one location. The OJT branch offices serve as a source of referral to the nontraditional project.

Often the intake process is handled, therefore, at the OJT office by OJT staff; other times it is handled by nontraditional staff at either the OJT office or at the nontraditional project office. The intake process, then, can vary considerably depending upon which project within the organization is most involved with a particular client. After several visits and interviews with staff, this was the closest we could come to an understanding of how intake and recruitment are conducted.

Staff reports that in addition to OJT projects, women's organizations also make referrals. The effectiveness of this process is questionable, given the intake method. We had numerous experiences calling the office on what apparently were field days and getting no answer and considered how frustrating this would be to a client. Again recounting the many sources of discouragement to women seeking nontraditional employment, we regret this relatively trivial added disincentive to her pursuit.

Interviews with staff members suggest that the women arrive not really knowing what they want. As part of the orientation, a job interest card has been designed for distribution to each client. Unfortunately, the cards are often mistakenly interpreted by women who assume that training is available to them in any of the nontraditional occupations listed. This method of exposure to the relatively unknown concept of nontraditional employment can have serious drawbacks. Whereas the attempt is undoubtedly to introduce new clients to the range of nontraditional jobs for women, it is unlikely that presentation of a list of rather unfamiliar items will lead to serious consideration of new career options.

The clients were described as typically having at least two children and rarely earning more than three dollars per hour. Their primary motivation, we were told, is to earn lots of money. Given sound counseling, education, information and support about nontraditional employment, these women are potentially successful candidates for nontraditional employment.

How This Project Attempts to Serve Women. At this agency too, the vocational counseling is on a one-to-one basis and is usually quite job related. The project requires that staff develop a given number of OJT nontraditional positions which allows little time for discussing the full range of career options with women clients. Priorities among staff center around placing women in a specified number of OJT positions. The intake counselor sees her job primarily as fostering the client's self-confidence. She has assumed that the women are so desperately in need of work that they are not ambivalent about entering these new areas. Rather, in her view, there is recognition that men have supported their families through such employment, and as women take on the role of provider, the same route is open to them.

The counseling does not center around information and education concerning nontraditional jobs as much as on the practicalities of the job. There is heavy emphasis on tangible needs such as transportation and child care. The counselor expressed her feeling that the women clients are generally determined and strong, and that they have clearly defined employment goals prior to seeking assistance from the agency.

Follow-up is described as an on-going part of the program:

> Sometimes I call them to see how they're doing. I want to know if there is a problem when it's happening. They call and I call...

This is the comment of a dedicated intake counselor who honestly believes it to be an accurate representation. Yet, in contrast to this statement, we have numerous descriptions of the process as depicted by women who have been counted as project placements. Of the women interviewed, few acknowledged they had been given initial or follow-up counseling. The procedure for being placed on a job was mechanical and clerical. Preparation for and education about nontraditional employment were minimal if provided at all, and at the time of interview, very few of the women were actually employed.

Specific Problems In Meeting Women's Needs. The placement process observable to us seemed to preclude the women from perceiving themselves as clients of the agency. Thus, as necessary correlates: 1) they would not be inclined to seek support after placement, no matter what the issue or how badly it was needed; 2) their exposure and placement in a nontraditional job had little to do with the agency but resulted from factors outside of the agency; 3) no barriers to women's entrance into nontraditional employment or training have actually been rectified, which could then ease the way of future women.

There, additionally, appears to be a tremendous gap between what staff describe as part of the process and what women offer as their experiences. Our confusion stems from the fact that the women interviewed were identified by project staff as clients who had been placed by the agency. When talking to these respondents, however, we heard the following:

--two sisters and a teenage high school neighbor were placed at an uncle's business. There was no training, very little work, and after several weeks they left by mutual agreement.

--a young woman is being trained as a carpenter. Her agency contact was by telephone and via signature on OJT forms.

--three women were already working at a business and then put on OJT for promotions. Their agency contact was by phone and via signature on OJT forms.

This kind of placement is antithetical to the staff descriptions of counseling provided to women clients. Whereas it may be the case that other women, not yet having been placed, are now receiving the services described by staff, it is readily apparent that numerous difficulties exist in implementing the program to most effectively assist women in their job seeking.

It is our conclusion that if the women interviewed have so little identification with the agency claiming to have placed them, they clearly are not receiving even a minimal level of needed support services. We then must question what becomes of the other women who do come to the program looking for work--do they get referred to jobs? Are they simply filed away? Do they get traditional non-OJT jobs? Although these questions remain unanswered, we feel safe in assuming that there is a considerable gap between what staff believes about counseling and placing women in nontraditional jobs and the experience of women actually placed. We simply saw little evidence throughout the process which suggests meaningful efforts to remove barriers to women entering nontraditional employment.

Employers Abuse Programs at Expense of Women. An unfortunate outcome of funded OJT programs is that they can be abused by employers. One circumstance which came to our attention concerns employers who have used the OJT system in the past and are now supplementing salaries of workers whom they already have on payroll or might have hired anyway. Most of the women in OJT slots, who were interviewed, had not, in fact, gone through any process at the agency. This abuse seemingly could be controlled with proper program monitoring and initial screening of employers to insure honest training on the job.

CETA Funded Minority Program III

A Different Kind of Program. This is a CETA funded OJT program designed to train minorities, veterans and women as draftspersons in architecture and engineering firms. The program was begun several years ago by concerned members of the profession who found large scale exclusion of minorities from the field and sought to effect changes. The trainees are placed in OJT positions at private firms and attend classes simultaneously. The agency staff is small and works in conjunction with an advisory board of architects and engineers who screen prospective trainees. Policy is cooperatively set and implemented by both staff and board.

Staff Commitment to Women Makes a Difference. Primarily as a result of one staff member's personal concern with the underrepresentation of women in the profession, as well as their treatment within this agency, explicit policy relating to women is an integral part of this program. The rest of the staff has been responsive to the views of this woman, and the results have been noticeably positive. Three classes of fifteen are placed each year, and project staff is committed to insuring that at least one third of each class be women.

Recruitment then necessarily becomes a key factor in the process. We are familiar with the typical explanation offered by agencies and training programs: "Women just don't apply here." Women do apply to this project, not by chance, but by design. Recruitment for women is vigorously conducted at schools and local minority and women's Employment and Training programs.

Once recruited, a woman who applies is at an immediate advantage. First of all, she is greeted by staff who genuinely wish to see her succeed and who are immediately supportive in terms of realistically exploring the program and describing the women's chances. CETA eligibility is the first screening criterion. Applications are collected until enough employers are located to absorb a class of fifteen. The first step is to separate all the women's applications for consideration. Secondly, women are always on the interviewing panel as part of an effort to place women applicants at ease. Evidence of this kind of commitment to maximizing a woman's chance for success indeed makes this program special. Many of the common sources of discouragement have been countered by the agency process.

Unlike most of the other CETA funded programs, this one delivers most of its services after a person is accepted into the program. We have to assume that a woman has some motivation to become a draftsperson or to learn what it is all about to even make the initial visit to the agency. According to the women themselves, and validated by staff respondents, the women tend to be more highly motivated and with better backgrounds and experience than the men who come to the agency. Acceptance into the program is not entirely decided by the screening panel; the final decision is made by the employer.

What the staff does, however, is stand behind each potential trainee. They will make every attempt to see that the woman gets placed in a favorable situation, and that she be given equal and fair chances on the job. As a result, they find a lot more women walking in off the street expressing interest in the program, and, most significantly, clients have had marked success on the job.

Men Are Still Surprised at Women's Capability. Classroom tutoring is part of the OJT program for all the program participants. The instructor acknowledges differences between some of the men and women students. He realizes that beginning terminology about mechanical parts may be foreign to women who have not studied industrial arts in high school or have never worked on a car. He expresses some surprise that the women do so well in math and also feels that overall the women tend to be at a slightly higher level than their male counterparts. This instructor clearly recognizes that women have special needs and different backgrounds. He seemed oblivious to the fact, however, that it is probably no coincidence that the women are better qualified. Even a sympathetic, understanding man who acknowledges the special problems and circumstances associated with women in this field, fails to see that those women who are making it into traditionally male domains are still too often the "superstars". It is quite obvious that the time has not yet come where the average woman has the same chance at success as the average or mediocre man.

Service Delivery Style Can Make a Significant Difference. This program is different from most in several ways. Since career choice has already been determined, the counseling process is intended not to get the woman a nontraditional job but to assist her to maintain the job. This is done with an underlying awareness on the part of the staff that the women trainees will be likely to have a more difficult time on the job and will need to develop some coping skills. The counselor and the instructor are supportive of the women and sensitive to their needs. Thus, the classroom is used as a place to give women a sense of confidence, as well as teaching specific skills. There is an effort to understand the differences between the socialization and backgrounds of the men and women students. Mostly there is reinforcement of the women's strengths and an effort to provide a truly supportive environment.

Commitment Beyond Placement. It is quite clear that the level of commitment at this agency extends far beyond placing the client in a job. CETA funds this program for OJT placements only, but the staff attempts to give each trainee the background and information which may help her decide on a professional career in architecture or engineering. The staff has developed a professional education program where they place college juniors and seniors in summer jobs. They have become an informal service for students and employers. They make presentations at junior high and high schools using women as role models. To educate and inform the students, they hold seminars presenting women and minorities already working in the field, and, additionally, they solicit employers to contribute to a scholarship fund.

None of these activities is specifically funded nor affects the agency's placement record. What is demonstrated is a continuing commitment and a great deal of support and confidence for each trainee. Although the agency is designed to place three classes of fifteen per year, the services are more far-reaching than just forty-five people. Employers and women benefit from a useful and effective program, primarily resulting from the staff's sense of responsibility to both parties. The interviews with women from the program are consistent with the positive staff interviews.

DOL Funded Minority Agency I

How a Program Designed for Minority Males Fails to Answer Women's Needs. This is a large community service agency offering a variety of services to an urban minority population. The organization is designed for and run primarily by Spanish surnamed people, and the programs have been funded with federal and local monies. There are two specific programs which are relevant to our study. One is designed to recruit and place young men and women in apprenticeships and is funded by DOL. The other is funded by the Department of Transportation and is designed to provide supportive services to apprentices in the State Highway System.

We are looking again at a minority agency which simply has added to its range of services some specifically aimed at women clients. Nowhere is there evidence of program or policy having been altered to improve women's access into those components most likely to facilitate their entrance into nontraditional employment.

The apprenticeship outreach center is based on the original model which sought to place male minorities into previously denied apprenticeships. When women recently were added as a target group, the hiring of a female recruiter was virtually the only change within the program. There is no recognition or awareness that the process and conditions may be different for women and, therefore, some modifications to the program are imperative. The difficulties encountered by minority men are often not analogous to those facing women. To note but one example, the problem of overcoming traditional attitudes about women's physical capacity to perform many nontraditional jobs obviously would be inapplicable in the former instance.

A further problem derives from the fact that the intake procedure does not assure that a woman client will be exposed to the full range of employment options. Much is simply dependent upon how sure she is about what she wants. If the woman arrives with an interest in a nontraditional job or mentions it, there is a good chance she will be referred to the apprenticeship project. If, however, a woman approaches the agency with the amorphous goal of finding a job, she may be referred to apprenticeship or, more often, to one of the other ongoing programs. The service delivery process does not provide for an automatic introduction to all of the various programs available at the center. Since women are substantially less likely to have considered nontraditional employment than minority men, it is essential that intake be structured accordingly.

Individual Staff Attitudes Can Significantly Affect a Woman's Future. The degree to which staff are understanding and aware of the problems a woman may face in nontraditional employment vary greatly. One counselor observed:

> I think they need a little more support because they are new to this thing... there's still a long way to go until we have that barrier gone. They do need that extra support, not because they themselves need it, but you have to combat the detrimental forces out there...the female has all the pressure against her by the contractor or the union...I think that the problem the females might have is understanding that it is not their problem. The problem is with the male having to accept this.

Contrast this with another counselor on the same staff who is equally as likely to "counsel" a woman:

> I present women very diplomatically. I just took one and introduced her to a contractor and they will call her if they need her. I would approach the contractor the same if I was introducing a man or a woman. I'm a union man myself...there is no problem with unions, very cooperative...I just do my job. I recruit them and if they are interested, that's it.

The woman client who is fortunate enough to be counseled by the first staff member undoubtedly has an important advantage. In combination with her own determination, the support and recognition of her special needs can ameliorate her chances for acquiring and succeeding at a nontraditional job. The obvious difficulty is that it is merely happenstance whether a woman client receives counsel from an empathetic and forceful advocate or from someone well-intentioned but generally insensitive to her needs. It may well be the case that when the going gets rough, the availability of a staff person willing and able to provide encouragement may make the difference.

Women Are Acknowledged to Be Different but Are Offered the Same Services as Men. The tutoring provided to men and women is the same despite the fact that women typically know less about tools and are unfamiliar with technical terms. There is no discussion of or referral to physical fitness preparation. There are no support groups or workshops for women. It must be stated, however, that this agency has not been specifically funded to compensate for the differential needs of women as compared to men.

One barrier identified by staff is the lengthy duration prior to the opening of apprenticeship lists. Whereas it is believed that many women are discouraged at this point, there has been no corresponding effort to provide intensive support and information concerning the trades and blue collar work during the waiting period. Rather, women who urgently require jobs are accommodated by being placed in the easiest slot available, invariably clerical or service. The likelihood of these women being approached in the future for nontraditional employment is remote unless they themselves are highly motivated and seek out the opportunity.

An additional problem posed by staff is the conflict between the Chicana's need to earn a decent wage to support herself and her family and the cultural barrier to her working in a "man's job". Thus, even if circumstances provide exposure to male dominated fields, without skilled counselors to facilitate the confrontation of deeply entrenched notions, many women clients are precluded from ever considering alternatives.

Lack of Stated Agency Policy Is Reflected by Staff Attitudes and Service Delivery. Interviews with agency personnel did not elicit responses suggesting a philosophical commitment to encouraging women to enter nontraditional employment and training. The staff sentiments were varied but stressed the goal of making successful placements. What was lacking, in our view, was an atmosphere conducive to providing extra support to a woman who needs it in order to succeed. Although this agency is extremely concerned with getting jobs for clients, the focus, as derived from its source of funding, is on numbers not kinds of jobs. An emphasis on quality of placement is inconsistent with the way the agency is structured. Even staff members who have spoken to us of women's need for support find it enormously difficult to operationalize such a concept. They are baffled at how recognition of women's needs can be translated into specific program functions which will best serve those women.

DOL Funded Minority Agency II

This organization was created to recruit male minorities into the building and construction trades. From its inception, it has had the endorsement of labor, management, and the building trades. For the past two years, funding requirements by the DOL have stipulated that outreach must include women as well as minority males. The clientele, however, continues to consist predominantly of minority males, as very few women have sought assistance from the agency. As yet, no woman has attained a staff position with decision making powers. Each office has a director, who is a minority male, and women serve only in traditional roles of secretary and receptionist.

No Accommodations Are Made for the Inclusion of Women in the Program. There are four offices, each with similar staffing patterns. After visiting each office and interviewing the directors and their secretaries, it became obvious that the program has employed no new methods which would be likely to attract the added target group--women.

Several of the secretaries/receptionists exhibited extremely traditional attitudes toward women entering nontraditional employment. Such feelings can operate as a significant barrier to women clients whose expressed interest in securing a traditionally male job is met with a negative and discouraging response during their initial contact with the agency.

More insidious than the stereotypical notions of the clerical staff are the opinions held by some of the program's administrators. Attitudes range from direct hostility to our interviewer, as well as to women, to some understanding and awareness of the difficulties facing women who seek apprenticeships. A woman's chances for entering into nontraditional employment may, therefore, be almost totally dependent on the sentiments of one man, and possibly his secretary. The offices tend to see little drop-in traffic, and thus far few women have been recruited or placed in apprenticeships.

Although recruitment and outreach are primary components of the project, none of the male directors was able to describe any special techniques or components designed to appeal to women. The nature of each director's philosophy and commitment so directly influences the service provided at the individual offices that it is hard to describe the process without discussion of personalities.

The Agency Process as It Reflects on Women. Whereas at most agencies we visited the key variables influencing the programs' effectiveness for women were the significant components--intake, recruitment, counseling, placement--the salient feature of this organization is the prevailing attitude of staff. There is no discernible process for serving clients as each office is essentially a one-man operation. The directors coordinate recruitment, attend speaking engagements, meet with contractors and Joint Apprenticeship Councils, and thus spend much of their time in the field.

Whereas each office operates under the same type of amorphous format, the attitudes of the male directors, as noted above, run the gamut from resentment toward women to a sense of responsibility to all clients, regardless of sex. Thus, whether a woman obtains meaningful assistance from this agency is often a function of which of the offices she visits.

The women interviewed generally have been referred to this program by another agency or have been recruited during a major drive subsequent to the CAC hearings. In one instance, a group of women being served were police officer recruits who were being given tutoring under the agency's auspices. A joint recruitment effort recently took place with a woman's apprenticeship outreach program for federal apprenticeship.

Whereas it is consistent with agency policy to rely heavily on referral from other organizations, it is then more difficult to radically increase the number of women who are to be served. For the most part, women do not see this agency as a place to go when looking for work. At each office, with the exception of the one which tutored the police officers, the staff had serious difficulty providing us with the names of women clients to be interviewed. The majority of the women we did see did not consider themselves to be clients. The entire police officer recruitment effort, for example, was developed elsewhere, and the women see their association with this agency as peripheral.

Inconsistent Attitudes Among Staff and the Effect on Women's Chances of Success. One of the offices spearheaded a recruitment drive for women within a specific occupation. Given women's general lack of information about unions and apprenticeships, it is imperative that such an effort be put in some context. Yet instead of educating the women on the realities of this kind of employment, the director merely gave a terse presentation on the particular field. The feedback from the women indicated that the material offered was extremely discouraging and was, in some cases, highly misleading. Whereas it is certainly true that in view of the reluctance to accept women into this field a glowing report would have been inappropriate, it is hardly reasonable to assume that a banner crop of potential candidates can be recruited without some encouragement and support.

Ironically, it was this same director who told us how women hesitate to come to this agency: "...they have some reservations as to the sincerity of the effort to get them into the construction business." There appears to be a serious gap between his perceptions of the source of women's distrust and the sentiments by the women themselves as to this agency's commitment to help them enter nontraditional employment. It is often much easier to ascribe a woman's ambivalence to her anticipated distaste for getting dirty or to her physical limitations.

Within this same organization another director said: "...the most important thing is if a person wants to be something, we have an obligation of supporting that person...". It is unfortunate that this philosophy could not be operationalized--if only women could be made to feel that they were not alone in their effort to enter nontraditional employment. There must be some way for this agency to incorporate its mandate to assist women to acquire male dominated jobs into its program implementation. Only then will the administration pay more than lip service to the commitment of providing women with support and encouragement for their pursuits.

Sources Available That Could Assist Women. The agency conducts evening tutoring sessions to help prepare clients for the exams required for acceptance into the union and thus for employment in the trade. The classes, in fact, serve a wider function than tutoring. They provide a forum for discussion of the various trades, and they allow information to be freely exchanged among teachers and students. Whereas women have to this time been conspicuously missing from these sessions, it could be an ideal way in which to acquaint them with a wealth of relevant material concerning employment in these fields.

No formal counseling program exists at this agency, but instead the directors, as well as the clerical staff, informally serve in this capacity. Since the directors have assumed their positions directly after years of working in the trades, they bring with them no expertise in counseling or support services. Perhaps more unfortunate for the women clients is that coupled with the staff's lack of training is the bias against women prevalent among men in these fields. Given the availability of the directors, as well as the secretaries and receptionists, to dispense vocational information, women could be prepared to make meaningful career choices. The critical determinant, however, is that the presentation be made in a positive and encouraging manner rather than in such a way as to undermine the women's motivation and confidence.

It should also be noted that the directors have close contacts with the unions and contractors and are thus in an ideal position to pass on information about exam dates and job openings. They are also knowledgeable about the various trades, having a vast amount of first hand experience to draw upon. The women must not be excluded from this important opportunity to acquire answers to many of their questions.

The Male Model by and for Males Ignores and Basically Excludes Women. Since the agency's outreach and recruitment efforts are not designed in any special way to appeal to women, only a minimal number of such clients are seen. There seems to be an assumption that women's needs are the same as those of minority males, and programs have been designed based on this premise. This program theoretically is as obligated to provide services to women as is the women's outreach program described later in this report. Yet the contrast between the programs almost defies description.

As long as no special efforts are made to accommodate women who seek to secure an apprenticeship, this program will remain predominantly a minority male agency. The structure of the organization gives tremendous authority in determining policy to each of the directors, and this power has for the most part served as a real barrier to women seeking entry into the construction trades.

DOL and CETA Funded Women's Agency

Goals and Funding Are Incompatible. This organization epitomizes the phenomenon of goals, commitment, and philosophy being incompatible with funding constraints. The agency developed out of concern for improving the economic status of women and focuses on one aspect of this process: facilitating women's access into nontraditional employment. The program's emphasis is making available the information and tools which enable a woman to obtain a male dominated job, either on her own or with the help of the agency staff. The underlying concern is with encouraging women to take responsibility for themselves, rather than viewing them as passive recipients of a range of employment services. Policy is set by a board of directors but is responsive to the needs of the women's community.

Funding is obtained primarily from federal and local government, with minimal assistance from a local community foundation. The contractual mandates specify placement requirements and do not provide for those functions which the staff so competently performs for its women clients. Five separately funded projects are operated, each having independent obligations imposed by a funding source, but all attempting to operate with the goals and philosophy of the organization.

Common to each project is a specific placement goal by which the funding agency measures program success. Some of the projects have specifically defined populations, e.g. older women or minority women. One project is specifically designed to place women in nontraditional white collar jobs and another to place women in apprenticeship and blue collar jobs. Central to each is the commitment to women and a recognition that the nature and quality of service they need is both special and different from that of men, and different from what they have received in the past. Each project bases its goals and program on the concept of women giving and receiving among themselves.

How Prospective Candidates for Nontraditional Employment Can Inadvertently Be Screened Out. Since the various projects are not housed under the same roof or within the same community, it is appropriate to discuss them within their own context. The largest operation, serving the greatest number of women, is in an urban center. Here we find the white collar and the blue collar apprenticeship outreach programs.

As the only organization of its kind, the agency is well known among women and little actual outreach has had to be done to attract clients. Women tend to seek out assistance mostly as a result of word of mouth. This is the only agency which has a program that specifically recruits women for nontraditional jobs. Women are also frequently referred here by other agencies which do not know how or wish not to deal with a woman who is not very typical and traditional.

A woman who comes into the organization has several choices which are not necessarily mutually exclusive. She can come to the agency because she is job hunting, wants counseling, is looking for information, or generally just needs someplace to go. There are informational workshops given on both blue and white collar job seeking. In many respects this is a program which recognizes the needs of women, knows how and what to do to accommodate them, but is hampered in that effort because of the nature of its funding. For example, where the commitment is to prepare or place women in nontraditional white collar jobs, what is required to get women into these jobs is counterproductive to placing them quickly in "a job".

The service delivery process of the white collar program is typically as outlined below. A woman first completes a job interest card and application. This actually is more important than she realizes since she is being screened for CETA eligibility and "creamed" as far as being easily placeable. This results in part from the CETA priority for placement and in part from the way the program is implemented. Those women who are assessed as placeable in management jobs, by virtue of experience and motivation, are usually given further service. A woman who, for whatever reason, does not sign up for a workshop never becomes a client and has no contact with staff.

It may be that a woman is interested only in the job listings available and desires no further service. In many cases, however, it is the design of the program which may exclude her from the full range of services available without her knowledge. The employed woman and the undecided/unmotivated woman is left to her own devices.

> ...there are just so many women and we have so few staff people that it's only reasonable for the staff people to spend their time working with the people who are going to get something. I mean, we don't have the luxury of helping someone decide what she wants to do.

It is most often the already motivated woman, able to begin to articulate her career aspirations, that ends up getting counseled. There are two stages of counseling. First, the women attend a workshop where they are encouraged to talk about themselves so they can make the connection between what they know how to do and where those skills might best be applied. In the group situation, the women are able to give each other support; they share ideas, enthusiasms and feedback. Only after attending a workshop is individual counseling available.

This process can be extremely valuable for a woman. The sad reality, however, is that it is the aggressive woman who most often benefits from the knowledge and support. A more appropriately designed intake process could allow a broader spectrum of women to take advantage of these important services.

The Male Model Redesigned with Women in Mind. Another major project within this same organization is designed to educate, qualify and place women in apprenticeships and blue collar jobs. This project was initially based on the male minority model but without the sponsorship of labor/management and the recognition of the building trades. There was thus an inherent obstacle to women from the program's inception.

Technically, the project is funded to place women in apprenticeships. Vast amounts of time and energy are necessary, however, for staff to gain leverage in the trades and unions and get in a position where they will be taken seriously. In addition, the staff recognizes that even though the basic components are analogous to typical placement programs (e.g. recruiting, screening, counseling, job development, referral), a sensitivity to women's special needs must be a major element.

The staff of this project is cognizant of the fact that women have an entirely different perspective and awareness of what apprenticeship is and means for a career and conduct their program accordingly. All the services provided are based on the notion of support. The difficulty arises in the conflict between the efforts necessary to provide what women need and the necessity of meeting imposed placement goals.

How Funding Sets Up Agencies to Compete with Each Other. One very serious outcome of the emphasis on placement is the competition which is automatically set up between the male minority outreach programs and the women's project. There are numerous instances where pirating placements for credit has seemed to take precedence over serving a woman's needs. It appears that the predominantly male outreach agencies do not recognize and/or acknowledge differences in needs of service for women, and this is consequently reflected in their programs. If this critical support function is performed by the women's agency, often when a woman is ready for a job other funded programs will appear as rivals for the placement.

Another real barrier to progress for women in apprenticeships is the issue of minority affirmative action goals vs. women affirmative action goals. Goals and timetables for women must be established and compatibly and equitably worked in with minority goals and timetables. This organization wants to insure that women are treated as women, not as minorities.

Clients come to the women's outreach program mostly as a result of word of mouth. The staff provides a realistic appraisal of the apprenticeship experience. There is recognition that the women clients are relatively unfamiliar with tools, and that it can be extremely helpful for them to identify prior expertise with nontraditional occupational skills. Role models are used so the client can actually see what it is like in the trade and how another woman made it through. Workshops are held to disseminate information about apprenticeships and serve as a forum for discussion.

Although relatively few of the women manage to obtain apprenticeships, they acquire an education which they are not likely to get elsewhere. Many of the women do not get placed because they screen themselves out after they learn more about apprenticeships. Primarily, it is still the "superstar" who does succeed, and the staff unanimously believes that a woman must work twice as hard and be twice as good as her male counterpart. Again, we encounter a situation where only the strong and motivated woman has a real chance; the undecided or average woman does not yet have a choice.

How a Women's Agency Structures Components to Meet the Differential Needs of Women Clients. The women on this staff indicate that the most significant difference between their counseling process for women and that done by the male oriented programs is the discouraging tone assumed by many of the men. Whereas there is no question that counseling here clearly addresses the hardships of nontraditional employment, other programs tend to dwell only on the negative aspects of apprenticeship and blue collar work. The counselors believe that presenting pragmatic information need not be inconsistent with offering support.

> You just don't say you can't do it, baby--it's just too hard. And that's what he said to them, instead of pointing out where women already exist...

The male counselors also often make assumptions that are appropriate for male clients but not for women. For example, it has never occurred to many of the men we interviewed that a woman job seeker who lacks physical strength will probably not take it upon herself to work out at a gym. Whereas this would be a typical response for a male client, nothing in the woman's background has prepared her to consider this course of action. Thus, at this agency counselors are sensitive to women who could benefit from improved physical fitness and make appropriate recommendations. Many male counselors are unaware of the problem and thus fail to assist in removing an important barrier. In contrast to this agency, an analogous lack of sensitivity to women pervades the tutoring offered elsewhere. Before substantive class material can be meaningfully transmitted, women clients must be made to feel comfortable and competent. Failure to assure a positive mind-set in the pupil cannot help but interfere with the learning process.

This project employs a highly competent woman tutor who is available evenings for women about to take apprenticeship exams, as well as women who are experiencing the lengthy waiting period. The tutorial component takes into consideration the typical socialization process of women, noting which areas are most likely to be weak spots. It also provides support for women who are anxious about the exam and who may become discouraged as they endure the long wait.

The program's concern with meeting a placement quota unfortunately precludes offering the full range of support needed by women clients. The follow-up process is one which suffers most.

> It wears on a person to have to go out there and perform like wonderwoman everyday. To deal with harassment, with negativism, with isolationism. We didn't realize till women came back and said, why did you put us out there if you're not going to be out there with us....We were so busy doing what we were funded for (placement) that the human element was completely dropped. Women are calling us and saying we need you. We need your energy....

The staff is acutely aware that the work does not stop once a woman gets placed. Yet, they are simply unable to devote any time to follow-up. It is perhaps most painful because they themselves recognize, and are constantly reminded by the women they serve, that a continuing support system could so often make a significant difference.

Committed Staff Efforts Create Significant Breakthroughs for Women. The staff may be credited with the major effort involved in finally getting the California Apprenticeship Council to include women in its goals and timetables of the Cal Plan. There was a considerable amount of organizing done with women's groups throughout the state, lobbying with significant people and groups, disseminating information, and lining up women to testify. Much time is spent in community contacts, personalized job development and meeting with and educating the Joint Apprenticeship Councils about the role of women in the trades. These time and energy consuming activities, which have been crucial to the effectiveness of this program, are neither specifically funded nor recognized favorably by the funding source.

There are three remaining projects within this organization, each of which is responsible to its local community and CETA prime sponsor, as well as to the whole organization. The obligation to the prime sponsor is making placements; the obligation to the local community is to offer women support, job options and an improved economic status. The obligation to the entire organization includes the items noted above, as well as a responsibility to women, in general, and to the women's movement. All programs must also be successfully operated, requiring internal staff support. Unfortunately, shared commitment and goals can sometimes be undermined. The nature of government funding automatically sets each project up to compete on its own, and thus individual projects faced with their own survival needs may have to reorder priorities.

How Support Leads to Confidence and Success. In spite of the external and internal barriers delineated above, each of these separately funded projects offers its women clients something which they cannot receive at any of the CETA and/or other public Employment and Training programs. The catchword is "support", which encompasses the understanding, caring, sensitivity and above all, personal commitment to helping women succeed. These attributes are an inherent part of each service provided. Placements are important to staff for continued survival, but all components are designed around the goal of enabling a woman to develop her sense of confidence.

Each of these projects holds workshops designed specifically for the woman client in the local community. A staff person assesses the effect upon a woman who has attended a workshop:

> After the workshop, the attitude of the women is alot different. Where they usually come in here feeling pretty low, and you can see it by their attitude, the look on their faces, the way they walk in the place, the way they sit down--just everything about them. When they come out of that room and after talking to us and talking again to the job counselor, they are just a different person. They feel good about themselves, they're more positive, and all of a sudden they feel like they are good for something....

This observation typifies the concern and caring of staff within the organization. This sensitivity is what isolates a woman's organization from all the rest. Nowhere in our visits to traditional agencies and with individual staff interviews was such awareness of women's needs recognized or articulated. A woman's agency counselor clearly states that:

> Someone really cares that they have problems and really wants to help them instead of that cold attitude--well, there's a job here, why don't you go check it out....

As a contrast to many state EDD or local CETA offices, where clients are herded through the process, counselors of this women's organization say of their clients:

> ...people need individualized attention. If they were all that organized and individually motivated they wouldn't have to come and see us. So they need that one to one...

As a result of the kind of attention and general support women receive at this organization, they begin to think more seriously about the job finding process. Many women begin to realize that they have marketable skills, previously having believed they had none. Most important, perhaps, is that there is a real concern with meeting an individual woman's needs:

> Counseling can range from getting answers about a job you want and leaving, or being here for two hours and crying. Every woman has different needs, that's what my job is all about.

The individual staff person's positive attitudes, the teamwork among each project staff, and the dedication to other women are the valuable assets of each of these programs. The major frustrations derive from services staff recognize as essential but are unable to provide the women. They cannot, for example, serve non-CETA eligible women, nor do they always have the time and energy to meet the full range of women's needs. Placements frequently do not meet the high standards which the staff members set for themselves, but there is a commitment to the women clients far beyond placement in a job. Mostly, there is regret that the numerous positive ramifications of program activities, other than placement, go unrecognized by the funding source and sometimes by the larger community as well.

Non-CETA Women's Agency

Women Who Planned Ahead. This agency was founded four years ago by five women who met at a career planning workshop. They were re-entry women and found that the workshop was not nearly enough, either in terms of support or as a continuing source of information to meet their needs. They decided to start a guidance and support center for women like themselves, as well as for women generally in a transition period. They broadly define their goals as helping women to achieve economic self-sufficiency and to improve the quality of their lives.

The center is located in a community of highly educated women, many of whom are re-entry or displaced homemakers. These women were the original target population, but the agency is now seeing many working women who are dissatisfied with their jobs and are looking for something else. The founders spent much time planning programs which they thought would be successful, yet would meet the needs of the women. They met with training officials in unions, observed the craft waiting lists and decided there was no point starting a nontraditional program when they were unable to provide the jobs. Given their liberal arts educated clientele, and the fact that there were several groups already in the area emphasizing nontraditional employment, they decided to present the idea of women opening their own businesses as a nontraditional option.

This agency, not relying upon CETA funding, is not required to make placements. What they concentrate on and do well is helping women with the process of self-assessment, decision making, goal planning and doing their own research to fit it all together with what is available.

> I think we are just super on the information and referral services to other agencies so that people can call us and we are the second to the last phone call that somebody has to make.

They have achieved a spirit of cooperation with other agencies, mostly because of the manner of operation. Since there is no competition for placements or clients, making meaningful referrals to appropriate agencies is a significant agency task. Rather than a piecemeal or happenstance phenomenon, referrals here are part of a carefully organized process. During the first year of service, contact was made with every organization in the area that might be dealing with the same target population or offering duplicate services. This initial contact was instrumental in establishing a mutually supportive working relationship with other agencies.

An Ideal Process.... Intake: A woman who walks into the agency is greeted by a volunteer who spends a few minutes explaining the center and its range of services. There is no prescribed routine as intake process; it depends on what the woman is looking for. Women tend to hear about the agency through word of mouth, and it is used regularly by some and only once by others. There are free and immediately available services such as employment listings, a library and peer counseling. For a woman who is looking for more specific counseling, there are professional counselors on hand for a fee.

The philosophy operating is that women are to be provided with the information and then must take the responsibility for doing with it what they will. The professional counseling component offers the woman personal counseling which is related to goal setting and making changes in one's life. In contrast, the vocational counseling covers resume writing, interviewing techniques, and salary negotiation. The peer counseling is seen as informational--for a woman walking in off the street needing some general information or someone to talk to. The peer counselor is able to help clients evaluate how the agency can be most useful to them.

In addition to the large counseling component here, the center also offers a variety of courses, seminars and workshops on other issues such as assertiveness or introducing an occupation. Many of the women who seek assistance from the agency become volunteers for awhile and use the experience as a stepping stone to a paying job. This has become an efficient way to help run the organization, as well as a confidence building process for the women.

This organization receives no public funds. They depend on contributions, charge fees and have some foundation support. They are responsible to themselves and their clients and, therefore, are able to do what they believe in and serve whomever they want. They do not concentrate on placement although their informal follow-up indicates that many of their clients have found jobs for themselves. They are able to be quite responsive to requests from women and groups of women for various kinds of support groups. The feeling is that it is very much up to the individual woman to decide which of the services the center provides will be of use to her.

An Ideal Process with Something Missing. The agency assumes no responsibility for exposing women to the idea of nontraditional employment. The underlying philosophy is that staff will work with a woman wherever she is at the time. This means that the option of nontraditional employment is not likely to be presented to a woman unless she first brings it up herself. One could question then whether a woman is really being taught self-assessment and career decision making to its fullest. If the range of career options is limited from the outset, we have no way of knowing what alternatives might have seemed feasible to individual clients. What is readily apparent, however, is that despite the narrowing of options for employment, what counseling is provided derives from real interest and concern for the women. The staff did consider the possibilities of nontraditional employment and made a deliberate decision not to concentrate in that area because of the relatively limited job market. There is thus no opposition to the concept but rather a choice to adhere closely to agency goals. Women who cannot be effectively served within this context are referred to organizations which will be more useful to them. Efforts are made to reassess programs, workshops, and offerings and change the format or goal when it is appropriate. This on-going evaluation process is, of course, most program effective.

How Much More an Agency Could Do for Women. What is so significant about this program is the recognition and admission on the part of policy making staff that they are not trying to tackle the entire problem and are willing to let others assist in areas where they are weak. The center does serve as a tremendous source of support for women. Feedback indicates that whereas many women did not get their jobs through this program, the center was worthwhile in terms of support. The volunteer coordinator (herself a volunteer) aptly expresses what is so valuable about the support provided:

> ...seeing people walk in that door in the same state of mind I was in--confused, a little depressed, their self-esteem not too good--and being a part of the process of seeing them elevate themselves out of that position.

What is equally as important and unfortunate is that here is a structure which has the potential, i.e. competent and committed staff, sensitivity to women's issues, an awareness of the labor market, to offer women a wider range of possibilities. It could be a vehicle to expose women to previously unthought of careers and provide support for women taking such risks. Yet, because of very real funding, economic and employment considerations, the administration has decided to limit the range of options presented to women in an effort to operate a successful program.

Partially CETA Funded Private-For-Profit Training Program

Placement for Profit. This is a private-for-profit vocational training school. It is a result, for the most part, of one person's personal experiences with the educational system and his attempt to create an educational environment which he felt would be more effective for training people in the trades. It offers fifty-three different courses with an average length of six months per course. Students are either private, and pay approximately a $2,000 fee, or are accepted as part of a training contract with CETA.

Placement is the central focus at the school. As a consequence of receiving funds, there is pressure to achieve high placement percentages as at other publicly funded training programs. Also, given the realities of operating a business, there is strong sentiment about the need to provide students with assurances of future employment. Only then will there be the probability of attracting prospective students motivated to pay the school's fees.

The student body is between 5% and 10% female, and there is no formal commitment to enroll women nor to encourage the entrance of women into nontraditional employment. The school views itself as a training institution that has no specific responsibility for women. However, after having an overt policy against accepting women for many years, a dramatic rethinking recently took place. A number of employers with federal contracts and pressures to hire women urged the school to accept women and train them so that there would be a pool from which to hire. The school made a very pragmatic decision on the basis of sound business practice to serve this need and to flow with the tide as it was turning.

CETA students must come to this training facility via the city-wide CETA intake and recruitment system, which has no specific emphasis on recruiting women for nontraditional training. The other women come in as private students. The training agency does private advertising but with no special appeal for women. The facility is well known in the local community as the place to receive vocational training in preparation for employment in much of local industry.

Services Are Not Designed to Meet Student's Individual Needs. Whereas the school offers a full range of services, the various components are within a specific context. The counseling function, for example, is not the psychological support oriented system of the type in evidence at women's agencies. The counselors are male and their main function, as they see it, is to be a "negative monitor". That is to say, they view their role essentially as one of close supervision. They assume that hard rules will insure attendance and good class performance.

At entrance, the staff both interviews the student and administers a battery of tests to determine capabilities. There is virtually no individual counseling addressing existing or potential difficulties. There are no support groups for women and no recognition that women may have special counseling needs.

The tutoring offered is in the form of a remedial class to bring students up to entrance level requirements and to pass union tests. The class, which uses an advanced multi-media approach to teaching remedial skills, is considered to also have a confidence-boosting function for the students. It is not in any way directed at the women, however, and any support they gain is as a serendipitous consequence.

The Women Students Have No Place to Go for Support. For the women students, the lack of supportive counseling has been an extreme hardship. The women here are rather isolated in the classroom and frequently have problems with either the instructors or male students. Given the overwhelming emphasis on placement, only a very few members of the staff can see the relationship between supportive counseling and success in the classroom, and ultimately to placement. While talking with staff, several individuals expressed a concern for the problems women are facing. None of these people, however, is a counselor or functions in an administrative capacity, and influence over policy regarding treatment of women at the institution is marginal.

There has been some recognition at a policy making level. The administration, for example, has become more responsive to complaints about instructors who are anti-women. It did take some extreme incidents to bring about any corrective action, and daily routine leaves room for practices which are not conducive to women succeeding. Although the instructors vary in their attitudes toward women, the women students report that they generally have very hard times even with those considered more sympathetic. They are often treated with barely veiled hostility, discouraged from taking their turn during the class, or frequently reminded of obstacles to their placement in jobs. Even those men who are well-motivated are over-solicitous in offering assistance, and thus make the women feel that they are being patronized.

Whose Responsibility Is It to Provide Women with Adequate Training? The instructors, for the most part, insist that they do not mind having women in their classrooms, and many believe the women are actually better students. Whereas most recognize that women lack the practical background of many men, such as backyard car mechanics, none viewed it as his job to offer the women extra help in these basic areas.

> They're usually good in the classroom. Almost all the women are better than the men in the classroom. The only drawback is the initial grasp of mechanical aptitude. But women traditionally played house with dolls...it's a whole new world for women...

This instructor obviously shows understanding, but accepts no responsibility for removing this important barrier to women. With all the appropriate equipment available, this facility would be a perfect place to hold remedial training courses for women students.

The women often have difficulty with general conditions at the school, as, for example, restroom facilities are not equal or adequate for women. Problems exist with expectations of male students for social interactions in which the women have no interest. The school, moreover, operates on day and night shifts so women are not necessarily scheduled concurrently to give them the opportunity to meet with one another for purposes of talking and support.

Even though there are very real problems associated with the counseling and training here, women are graduating and being placed in very good jobs. Indications are that the women are making it because they are exceptionally competent and strong, and they are having to endure significant hardship which could be avoided.

The Profit Motive Recognizes that Women Can Be Successful in Nontraditional Employment. It is interesting to note that many positive aspects of this school seem to stem from it being a private-for-profit institution. There is a deep commitment to placement because it is essential for staying in business. There is sensitivity to change and a willingness to rethink policy because it is practical economics to do so. In some ways, the school may be less insulated from change than public institutions because it is more dependent for survival on achieving meaningful results. In the words of the director, explaining how the policy to accept women was a consequence of employers pressuring him to do so:

> It's kind of like when they changed the speed limit from 65 to 55. You might not like it at first but it is something you have to live with if you want to continue to drive. After awhile you get used to it.

Partially CETA Funded Women's Agency

This is a women's organization serving a largely middle-class community. At its inception, the emphasis was on providing psychological support for women. The majority of clients were, and continue to be, displaced homemakers seeking to re-enter the labor force. Recent times have seen a more diverse clientele as many more unemployed women and those attempting to change careers have sought assistance. The organization is funded through private fees for services, county government and CETA.

Agency Goals and Decision Making. The agency is administered by women who collectively set goals and policies. There is a clearly defined commitment to women centering on psychological counseling, which subsequently allows meaningful career decision making. There are no goals for placing women into nontraditional jobs or training, but rather to assist them to develop their own employment aspirations. The agency views itself as a resource center for women offering educational, referral and vocational services. Support groups are facilitated, and a variety of workshops are conducted on topics of concern to women such as legal rights, job restructuring and assertiveness training. Alternative work structures such as shared employment, part-time careers and flexible scheduling are encouraged. Active job development is done, and the agency is a regularly used resource for employers seeking to implement affirmative action goals.

The office maintains job listings and announcements, as well as a library open to all interested women. It is also a comfortable setting for women to informally obtain support and thus serves an important function in the women's community.

Analogous to another suburban women's agency described in this report, the philosophy of this agency is to provide counseling based on the woman's description of her specific needs and desires. Whereas policy is not in any way actively opposed to women entering nontraditional employment, staff does not present it as an automatic option to women during the course of vocational counseling.

Counseling Does Not Consider All Vocational Options Available. Counseling is conducted on an individual basis by trained staff whose expertise derives from a variety of disciplines. Where appropriate, psychotherapy may be provided, but the full range of job seeking techniques is offered as well. Thus, a woman can benefit from psychological counseling while also learning resume writing skills or participating in role playing a job interview situation.

The vocational counseling component grew out of the original therapeutic counseling, which had served to identify the specific pragmatic needs shared by many of the women clients. The clientele could originally have been characterized as idle, depressed and most often in the throes of domestic difficulties. The support groups became a tremendous resource for these women and gave them the strength to begin taking responsibility for their own lives.

The agency was funded in 1974 to do outreach for CETA Title I training, and this contract consequently had serious ramifications for the type of woman client to be served. A prepondrance of economically disadvantaged women, many of whom are quite well educated, appeared in significant numbers. A large proportion had suffered a dramatic reversal in economic status as a result of recent divorce.

These women, in our view, may be ideal candidates for nontraditional employment. While the staff does recognize this potential, and while some of the women they have recruited are presently in nontraditional jobs, there is no explicit policy or goal to maximize the chances of this occurrence. Staff contends that the absence of an overt commitment to the concept of nontraditional employment stems from the lack of such job possibilities in the county and from their contractual obligation limiting them to outreach and prescreening.

We submit that the process does not preclude posing the nontraditional career option to clients. Women who have been referred by a variety of county institutions are first seen by a CETA counselor to determine their CETA eligibility. At this point, there is some preliminary discussion about vocational aspirations precedent to the actual counseling at the County Manpower Office. The notion of entering a male dominated job setting could easily be presented at this early juncture, and at least an attempt has been made to impinge upon the women's consciousness.

The agency staff meet regularly with the county counselors to discuss their mutual clients. After the outreach and prescreening, however, the women are quite at the mercy of the county. As to the CETA portion of their operation, placement is entirely out of the hands of the agency. The staff expressed concern that the majority of the women are being placed in clerical positions, yet they have not taken a firm stand to rectify this situation.

Ideal Structure, Competent Staff, What's Missing? Non-CETA women continue to use the agency for workshops, support groups and job listings. As is the case at other women's organizations, the staff is expert at providing skills assessment, goal setting and on-going support to its women clients. What we see as a critical barrier for women in the program's operation is the limited range of career options to which women are exposed.

Without the opportunity to consider the full spectrum of vocational choices, the women served by this agency are not being prepared to effectively decide on their goals. Determinations frequently are being made based on the same preconceptions and sex-role stereotyping that have continued to narrow women's possibilities.

Only the women who come in with some interest in nontraditional employment, and champion the idea themselves, get substantial encouragement and support to pursue this path. The majority of women are confused and extremely open to whatever alternatives are offered to them. It is, therefore, imperative in our view that women be educated about the realities of breaking into new fields--that all women be given the chance to become all that they can be.

Given the highly qualified staff deeply concerned about its women clients, a perfect environment exists in which to positively explore the variety of employment choices. We believe that to effectively serve women and truly meet their needs, an explicit policy to pose the nontraditional employment option is essential.

CETA Funded Training Program

This public training program serves both a local community college district and the local CETA prime sponsor. It is the only public training available in a large metropolitan city. Our discussion shall be limited to the skills preparation in those few fields which we consider nontraditional for women.

Difficulties Surrounding Entrance to the Program. The students who enter training are either CETA-eligible and the recipients of stipends, or non-CETA-eligible residents of the county. Women from both groups reportedly have an extremely difficult time getting into the programs. The difficulties can be attributed to three major factors: 1) long waiting lists for classes; 2) the incredibly complex system of intake and enrollment; and 3) staff bias against women entering the trades.

The city's CETA office technically does initial intake for this training facility. It is the responsibility of a receptionist to present clients with a list of occupations for which there is vocational training. No explanation or further information is given, and the client is thus forced into a preference at the time of filing an initial application. There is obviously no effort to interest women in nontraditional skills training for nontraditional occupations. Our interviews with women, on the contrary, indicate that they are encouraged to pursue one of the variety of clerical and service programs to improve their chances for immediate employment. That the jobs for which they would be training are typically low paying and low status is, of course, not stressed.

Women occasionally are referred to the central CETA office by a community based agency because they have expressed desire to enter a nontraditional occupation. A woman also may conceivably get into skills training by going to either of the actual training sites.

Women Must Aggressively Counter Resistance to Their Entering Nontraditional Classes. Of critical issue to us is the fact that every woman we interviewed reported having fought her way into a nontraditional program. Not one managed to gain entrance without enormous difficulties. The process provides no informative intake procedure and virtually no counseling. The women ultimately admitted were required to be extremely assertive and persistent. Each had been rejected several times and was subject to delays, misinformation and general harassment.

Our interest is in skills training for the automotive trades and also for office machine repairs. One significant hurdle is that in addition to passing qualifying tests, students must be approved by an advisory board of labor and business representatives from the automotive industry. This signifies a confrontation with deeply entrenched prejudice against women entering a firmly male dominated field.

A blatant barrier to women's entrance into the program involves the counselor who sees all walk-in applicants at the CETA services office. By reputation she is highly opinionated and extremely negative about women in nontraditional employment. Certainly she has clouded the vision of more than one prospective candidate for nontraditional employment.

Perhaps the most serious obstacle derives from our observations that no clearly defined process exists to assure that a woman can walk in and get information, referral, or introduction to nontraditional training. To enter such a program, the woman must invariably arrive with certainty of purpose and willingness to track down the key to admission. We asked the CETA counselor whether there is a point where a woman may be directed to him. He replied, "I'm really not sure." His uncertainty about the procedure is reflected in the disgust, frustration and resentment expressed by the women informants.

Women's Needs Are Not Being Met. Given that the socialization process significantly precludes women from aspiring to numerous occupations, there must be recognition of this phenomenon and steps taken to expand horizons. The counseling component must address the differential prior experiences of male vs. female students and incorporate an acknowledgement of this disparity into the services offered. At this institution, we were informed:

> In terms of our counseling we're not involved per se in giving people many different avenues and telling them what is happening in each one of them. We are basically here with programs to run and we hope that we get someone that comes to us with their head screwed on right, and they know what they want when they walk in the door. We don't have that much time to spend really trying to direct someone in whatever particular area would be suitable for them...

This speaks to one of the most insidious barriers perpetuated by agencies and programs which prevents women from entering nontraditional fields. Without an intake procedure and with only two counselors, it is no surprise that the few women whose heads were sufficiently "screwed on" to gain admission are regarded as extremely aggressive. They are prime examples of women making it in spite of the system.

Although quality instruction is important for all students, the resistance to women entering male domains makes imperative that they not attempt to break down barriers without having the requisite expertise and the personal sense of competence for the task. It is unlikely that they will acquire either at this institution. One staff person commented to us, "This is the only trade school in the city. It's not the best; it's the worst."

Our observations, albeit with an untutored eye, indicate that the quality of training, the competency of the instruction, and the condition and availability of necessary tools and equipment is shockingly inadequate. There have been several serious confrontations between the few women students and instructors whom they believe to be unqualified and holding serious biases toward women. The administration has acknowledged that serious problems exist and has begun to implement some corrective measures. Unfortunately, the women who have been responsible for the minimal positive movement at the training facility have been labeled "aggressive troublemakers".

The Instructors as Barriers to Women and Nontraditional Employment. The instructors almost unanimously feel that most automotive work is too hard for the women. They told us there is virtual certainty the women will never become employed because of employers' attitudes toward hiring women. Espousing such views is unlikely to be consistent with creating a supportive environment within which women students can acquire technical know-how. One instructor interviewed obsessed on the topic of women wanting to stay on welfare instead of working. In his mind, this is totally a sex-determined characteristic--it did not seem to occur to him that this need not be a phenomenon limited to women. The instructors overall exhibit a pattern common among agency staff. They acknowledge the capabilities of their women trainees, and they contend that generally they are more highly motivated and more interested in learning than male students. There is also cognizance of the fact that women are seriously disadvantaged in terms of basic mechanical knowledge and background. Yet the instructors seem somehow to avoid feeling any responsibility to compensate women for their unequal experience and encourage them to make the most of their motivation and determination. By treating all students as if they are equal upon entry, a vast disservice is being done to the women who began with a substantial handicap.

Another difficulty facing women, which results from the attitudes of institutional staff, involves the actual acquisition of a job. There is no formal placement program for the institution's graduates, but instead it is informally handled by instructors. The women's fate is thus in the hands of male instructors who are at best ambivalent about women being in these fields. Whereas each instructor forcefully asserted the claim that the automotive industry will not hire women, none gave any evidence that he might serve as an advocate and improve their chances for success.

In office machinery repair classes, the instructor and his students have entirely different perceptions about the training and reasons for lack of placement. He continuously contradicted himself by alternately saying the women want to stay on welfare and are here to cause trouble or, they are here for a purpose, because they want a trade. This juxtaposition also does not bode well for women receiving quality instruction and ultimately a good job.

Institutional Structure Precludes Quality Training. This is an institution dedicated to training and dependent, to some extent, on placement for justification of its continued existence. The instructors, however, come from the trades, where the prevailing sentiment is one of thinly veiled hostility toward women. Whereas some recognize the differences between male and female students, there is no evidence of this being translated into meaningful programs to better serve the women. The structure of the institution, moreover, works against women gaining support in any manner or form. The poor quality of the technical training merely reinforces the doubts about their ability to succeed--doubts the instructors' attitudes are sure to have raised.

It appears that the public vocational training available is a makeshift effort to serve minorities and women, but with little emphasis on quality. White males seem to enter the skilled world via other means, such as apprenticeship or through personal contacts. It is a system which is so tangled--where jurisdictions and policies conflict--that there is very little room from within to change the way things work. Since there are no easy alternatives, the status quo has not been seriously questioned or challenged.

Agencies' Common Problem Areas

Male Dominated Agencies. One of the most significant barriers facing women who seek to enter nontraditional employment derives from the fact that the agencies most typically providing them with assistance are male dominated. With the exception of women's agencies of the variety discussed above, Employment and Training institutions are staffed predominantly by men. It is not merely the sex of those offering assistance, however, which determines the service delivery style of a particular agency. Women who have aspired to and obtained positions of power in our society have often done so by accepting the traditional male value system. They may, in fact, be as unresponsive to the needs of women as are many men, feeling that they were able to succeed within the structure and others must now similarly make their way. Agencies which reflect and reward values associated with men and implement programs designed with male clients in mind are, by definition, doing a disservice to the women who now need to be served. Whereas hiring women staff may not entirely solve the plethora of difficulties identified by clients, certainly the presence of an advocate sensitive to women's issues is an important first step.

The prevalent sentiment among male staff is that it is not their responsibility to get women into nontraditional employment. Even the agencies that are specifically mandated to serve women do little to further their chances of entering previously male domains. The problem surfaces dramatically in the woman client's interaction with her counselor. Here it is essential that close rapport be established, and the woman be convinced of the sincerity and concern of the staff person serving her. Male counselors consistently have demonstrated a lack of understanding of the special circumstances facing women. They evidence little awareness of the differential experiences of women as compared to men in our society, which significantly influence the employment options for each sex. There is no cognizance of the fact that women still bear the major part of the responsibility for administering a household, in addition to holding down a job for pay. Men typically have women caring for their needs--washing their clothes, cooking their meals, tending their children. Their main responsibility is going to work every day and earning a living, while most of the women who have decided to seek nontraditional employment have a double burden. First, they must make the tremendous adjustment to what is often a hostile environment, requiring them to cope with on-job stress, learn how to deal with their male colleagues, and acquire expertise in a new field. They must essentially perform like "superwoman" every day on the job and then return home to attend to a whole host of additional chores.

It is also the case that many of these women are not getting support at home for their new vocation. They are truly having to confront enormous obstacles without support from any quarter. Most male counselors seem to be oblivious to this aspect of the woman client's life and assume it is just as easy for her as for his typical male client. The women counselors in male dominated agencies have rarely been selected for their aggressive commitment to assuring women's success. They generally have accepted the program as it is defined and stay within the boundaries thereby set.

In sum, it seems abundantly clear that agencies which are serving the function of assisting women to enter nontraditional employment ought to be either exclusively women's agencies or have significant numbers of women in decision making and counseling positions.

Shortcomings of Referral Agencies. Many of the agencies considered here are dependent on other agencies to serve as a source of referral. Because of the way the programs are organized and funded, it is common for an agency to serve the function of initially screening applicants and referring them to the appropriate second agency. The agencies serving the referral functions are often even further removed from any real commitment to serving women's needs.

Many of the agencies under our purview have a high proportion of clients who have been sent to them by such a referral agency. The result, of course, is that the nature of the population served by the agency itself is influenced significantly by the policy of the referring group. Lacking a commitment to assisting women's entrance into nontraditional employment, they neither expend the effort to seek out interested women, nor do they explore the possibility with women who are potential candidates. As a consequence, even if the agency to which referrals are made could facilitate a woman's entrance into a nontraditional job, insufficient numbers of such clients are ever channeled in its direction.

Further, referral agency personnel often actively discourage women who show an interest in a nontraditional job. These are the most pragmatic of agencies and are characterized by their assumption that clients should take the least difficult route. They reason it is easier for a woman to find a secretarial job than a job as a plumber and should set her sights accordingly.

Intake Is Confusing and Incomplete. The intake process, the point at which the client first meets the agency, is critical. It should be clear mechanically--that is, the client should easily be able to understand the process of enlisting the services of the agency. It should also provide some minimal but important information to the prospective client. Unfortunately, what one finds in most agencies is a confusing intake procedure void of substantive content.

In whatever kind of agency--a prime sponsor CETA intake agency, a community outreach agency, women's self-help groups--one rarely encounters a program designed to acquaint a woman client with the entire range of available career options. We wonder how many women are not being reached simply because no one offered the data upon which to choose an alternative.

Another circumstance which can function as a substantial barrier is the initial greeting by a receptionist at an agency. We are all familiar with the stories of the pre-EEO days when well-intentioned receptionists were destroying applications of minority job seekers. The uninformed employers naturally assumed minorities were not applying. In a somewhat different form, this may be occurring at Employment and Training agencies. An undecided woman may ask the receptionist what she thinks of a nontraditional job. If the receptionist responds by telling her that she herself certainly would not want to do that kind of work, or have her daughter do it, it is surely not going to reinforce whatever interest had evoked the question. A woman client may be deterred from ever pursuing this avenue further.

Inadequate Recruitment. Recruitment programs designed to reach out into the community for the purpose of informing and identifying individuals who might benefit from the agencies' services are generally ineffective. The ideal situation, which would have women serving as role models and addressing a receptive audience, is virtually nonexistent.

Training institutions seem to be the most culpable. We were unable to identify direct means for women to acquire CETA funded training. Rather, we learned that women have to manipulate, pester and threaten in order to get into nontraditional training programs. In one of the cities visited, there is only one public training facility, and the women have essentially had to fight their way in. Recruitment for nontraditional training is nowhere to be found within the CETA agency in this city.

Sometimes signs and posters are visible in reception areas as recruitment aids. It is extremely unlikely, however, that a woman will be encouraged merely by reading a poster, unless there is either strong prior motivation or strong follow-up support.

We were told of an agency recruitment effort for law enforcement careers. When very few women showed up, the staff was puzzled. They did not seem to recognize that merely posting signs about an informational meeting was a most inadequate means of helping women rethink deeply entrenched notions about appropriate careers for women. If this option had been presented differently, for example, through personal explorations or one-to-one role models, we are certain more women would have responded.

One instance where the method of recruitment was sufficient to sabotage the effort occurred under the auspices of an outreach apprenticeship program. Many women saw signs about an apprenticeship opportunity at a local junior college and followed up by visiting the agency. At this point, they found the director strongly discouraging and with little of substance to offer them. The agency is charged with giving information about a range of apprenticeship opportunities, but yet the one they had seen posted was the only one discussed. The women left feeling there was no reason to consider this option in the future.

Problems in Service Delivery. The counseling services at the agencies not specifically designed to provide psychological support are extremely poor. The counselors seldom have the time, education, or inclination to deal with the personal problems of clients, and there is no systematic procedure for assuring that this component operates in an effective manner.

The problem, however, is not simply a matter of staff competence. Counseling seems always to be a very low priority item when decisions are made about allocation of resources. In general, there is an extremely low level of expenditure for counseling services, and it is the first component of the agency to be cut back when money is tight. Far too often there is no counseling of a supportive nature in training institutions, and little in others, because no money has been allotted for that function. We are talking now of only the most rudimentary counseling services; funds for any sophisticated programs geared to the needs of specific groups are almost always out of the question.

The counseling program of an agency should bear the responsibility of presenting clients with relevant information and an introduction to the range of employment opportunities, as well as providing support. An orientation course or center and career counseling should be available. If women have improved access to these essential services, it will undoubtedly be the case that more and better equipped women will enter the nontraditional fields.

Another difficulty common to many agencies considered in this study is that like many present-day bureaucracies, they are too big to function effectively. They have simply grown too large to serve clients in a personal manner, or to consider the problems of special groups. Women face a complex set of barriers when they choose a nontraditional job. They would benefit greatly from institutions that could offer personal attention to personal problems. Anything less is insufficient.

Funding Constraints as a Problem. The source of funding for any agency significantly affects the way in which the agency operates. Guidelines are provided which will be determinative in retention of financial support for a given program. If an agency is to be evaluated largely on the basis of specific criteria, those components will be of high priority to the agency. Since actual placement in jobs is the most frequently employed standard, a great deal of energy is directed to that end. For training institutions, this requires admitting and matriculating students who have a likelihood of being hired. Since women are considered more difficult to place on a job, women are viewed as a liability.

Sometimes the very services an agency is best able to provide clients are outside the scope of the funded programs. Here again is the blatant example of women's organizations managing to meet the needs of clients through counseling or workshops, but having received inadequate or zero funding for these essential services.

Similarly, agencies tend to overemphasize one service at the expense of other equally critical needs. Whether because of an initial set of objectives or in an effort to continue replicating what has proven to be successful, agencies tend to center on one service. Some, for instance, emphasize vocational counseling and offer absolutely no psychological support services. Others do just the opposite, catering to the clients's emotional needs but presenting extremely inadequate career information. Whereas we certainly do not wish to fault an agency for trying to maximize what it does well, there must be some recognition that a broad range of services is necessary if any agency is to meet the needs of its clients, particularly women seeking to enter nontraditional employment.

Lack of Follow-up. Inadequate follow-up of women clients characterized all the agencies visited. Although CETA requires a "clerical" thirty-sixty-ninety day follow-up, this falls far short of what women ideally should receive. When a woman has overcome the barriers and acquired a nontraditional job or training, her problems are often just beginning. The women, however, almost never took from the agency a sense of continued interest in their progress. They rarely felt comfortable approaching the program staff when difficulties were later encountered. As a result, a staff person would sometimes discover, too late to intercede, that a woman had just left her job. In other situations, the women somehow themselves succeeded in developing coping strategies which allowed them to survive on the job or in training. These are the women who later told us how much they needed someone to talk to, how they wished they could meet other women in similar positions. When asked if they thought about calling the agency that placed them, the response was invariably, "I know they are just too busy to help" or "No, I never thought of it."

The women's organization responsible for placing most of the apprentices in this state feels it has let its women clients down by not being able to provide the type of follow-up necessary. They reported that the women who do call in consistently express the feeling that agency help is even more important once they are actually placed. Their poignant plea is, "You helped put us here; now please keep us here."

Some women just require an hour or two of crisis counseling and then are able to carry on without more follow-up. Others need more constant support and the knowledge that it is available to them. One agency used to organize picnics and potlucks for its women clients. This gave the women an opportunity to meet others who were experiencing similar problems and to reduce their feelings of isolation. The staff, unfortunately, could not spare that kind of time and energy for very long, and the meetings gradually dissolved. Regrettably, this type of support is precisely what the women need desperately and are not able to get.

This deep awareness of women's needs was atypical of the agencies we visited. At best we found frustration over lack of time, staff, resources, and funds to provide even minimal follow-up support. At worst we found no commitment to support and attitudes overtly hostile to any notion of special treatment for women. The thirty-sixty-ninety day required follow-up has nothing built into it to assure any kind of support for the women. It is simply a clerical reporting procedure.

Agencies as Human Organizations

Agencies are only as effective as the individuals who staff them. It is sound sociological principle that the formal structure of an organization only sets the parameters of possible behavior. The informal social structure worked out by the personnel of the institution accounts for most of what goes on in the day-to-day operation. The informal structure reflects the sentiments of those who comprise the staff.

The attitudes of staff around issues of agency function are paramount. Even an organization which has engaged in careful planning can be sabotaged by a staff whose attitudes do not support the goals. Similarly, an organization not well designed can actually be very supportive and helpful to clients if the staff is dedicated to the goal of greater representation of women in nontraditional employment. The commitments and basic assumptions of those who make policy are of course critical. They set the formal goals and by their behavior often set the example for the "proper attitude" for all staff.

One of the most successful programs visited has a relatively small staff unanimously committed to enhancing women's chances and willing to give them special consideration where appropriate. Informal goals have been set for the number of women to be served, and the staff's concern with assuring women's success is made readily apparent. The staff members strongly support counseling and follow-up and are interested in the client far beyond the placement stage. They work as a team and act as advocates on behalf of their clients, be it with their advisory board or the employer. The staff not only is committed to its clients but to facilitating interaction among themselves, which is basic to the program's operation.

The discussion which follows attempts to explore the range of attitudes toward women among staff at the agencies under our purview. It must be stated at the outset that a homogeneous set of sentiments about women interested in nontraditional employment does not exist. Rather, opinions run the gamut between avowed support to overt hostility. The views of two men, each a director of a local office of the same agency, presented below most dramatically speaks to the broad spectrum of sentiment which a woman seeking assistance may encounter.

Mr. A and Mr. B. Mr. A is the director of an outlying district office, a member of a minority group, and formerly worked in the trades. Mr. B is the director of an inner city office, also a member of a minority group, and also with a background of work in the trades. Mr. A has been a strong and enthusiastic supporter of the entrance of women into the trades. He has worked hard to create programs helpful to women and dedicated himself to assuring that the programs are effective. Mr. B, conversely, sees the inclusion of women in his scope of responsibility as an intrusion. He is basically concerned with doing the bare minimum for women clients while trying to cover himself by making empty gestures which give the appearance of fulfilling his responsibility.

Mr. A has been extremely innovative in his recruitment program. He considers women a target population and plans programs specific to that goal. He has conducted outreach directed at women's classes in high schools and colleges, particularly physical education courses, to convince young women of the benefits of working in the trades. He has expanded the occupations for which he recruits and tutors in order to serve a number of public agencies interested in hiring more women. Mr. B does almost no recruiting at all for men or women but rather, is content with a program that reaches his self-determined quota of an adequate number of clients.

Mr. A has expanded the tutoring his agency offers by instituting an exercise class to assist women in meeting standards needed to pass fitness tests and to survive the physical demands of the actual on-the-job situation. Mr. B has made no attempt to adapt the traditional tutoring approach of the agencies. For Mr. B the special needs of any one subgroup are either invisible, or he is simply too unmotivated to take any action.

Not only has Mr. A expanded the range of trades for which he recruits and tutors, but he also actively seeks out employers as individuals or in groups to educate them to the value of hiring women in their fields. He uses whatever leverage he has to pressure them to that end. Mr. B continues to place people only within the boundaries of the original guidelines, occupations which, in general, are the most difficult for women to enter. He makes no special effort to influence or pressure employers to hire women.

Mr. A has a good working relationship with the local women's agency. They exchange information, refer clients to one another, and enlist the other's services in a collective attempt to assist women. Mr. B resents the local women's agency for being so aggressive in supporting the entrance of women into nontraditional employment and trying to encourage his agency to do likewise. At the same time Mr. B takes the position that it should be the women's agency which has the real responsibility to help women, not his own program.

The above attitudes are painfully reflected in the clients' personal contact with the directors. Without counselors on staff, the director serves in this capacity. Mr. B is predictably negative and very discouraging to the women clients who seek him out as a person in a position to offer them counsel. He is disinterested and not helpful to women seeking support. Mr. A, on the other hand, is very supportive and constructive. He is encouraging to the women with whom he interacts.

It has been demonstrated that luck of the draw plays an important role for a woman in determining whether the agency will be useful to her. She may be very fortunate and find an agency with a director or staff member with attitudes similar to Mr. A. On the other hand, she is probably more likely to encounter sentiments expressed by Mr. B. This element of chance can well govern whether a woman gets the necessary support to enable her to face the rigors of entering nontraditional employment.

In conclusion, we offer a brief illustration of the disparity in attitude of agency staff as contained in direct quotations from interviews with the alphabet men.

Mr. A

The biggest problem, the biggest need is finding ways to give women more support.

We had worked with the women for a long time, tutoring them to pass the entrance tests, and then they all failed the fitness part. It was tragic for all of us. At that point I decided something had to be done in this area. We got a physical education teacher and began classes to prepare the women in this area.

> If I can't put myself into it completely I don't belong here. It takes people who believe in what they are doing to make change. They have to be willing to take risks. That's what it takes to get the job done.

Mr. B's attitude, as reflected in two of his comments, presents quite a contrast.

> Women don't need any special kind of tutoring. If they think they want a trade they can take a shop course like any guy can. If they are really interested they can do that.
>
> What's the big deal with women. Why are they so special. They come in and get treated like everyone else. We hardly get any over here at this office anyway. I get some calls and a few dribble through, but that's all. That women's group in the county ought to be doing that stuff.

Despite the tremendous differences in sentiments depicted in our alphabet directors, and typical of staff throughout the agency network, there are some general attitudinal patterns which became evident during the course of the study. Some of these prevalent mind sets shall now be explored.

It's Not Our Responsibility. Perhaps the most damaging attitude which prevails among agencies other than those exclusively for women is the notion that facilitating the entrance of women into nontraditional employment should not be a high priority function of the agency. It is believed that programs should be designed to serve the clientele as a single entity. Women come with a special set of problems, and while the agency may be supportive in theory, there is rarely an acceptance of responsibility to act affirmatively and invest a good deal of staff time and energy in this pursuit.

The argument offered is one of, why single out for special attention the concerns of women. Rather, efforts must be concentrated on the broad range of goals toward which the agency is already working. As one agency head expressed it, "Everybody right now is hoping the other guy or the other agency will do the job." This attitude is a major obstacle to the emergence of programs which could successfully support and assist women interested in nontraditional employment.

Further, the view that "it is not our responsibility" is supported by the seemingly egalitarian attitude held by most agency personnel, that equality in treatment is the ultimate goal for which to strive. The thrust is that the system must be fair, requiring the same treatment for everyone--all racial groups, men and women. This sentiment obscures the important fact that men and women seldom enter the training situation or workplace on an equal ground. The men generally have much more preparation and background for entrance into jobs that are nontraditional for women. If one begins with unequal groups and treats them equally, they will remain unequal. This attitude is the basis upon which agencies constantly justify the non-existence of special programs or special help for women. The twin catch phrases--"women are not our responsibility" and "everyone will be treated the same around here"--go a long way in explaining why so many agencies do so little for women.

Pioneers Can Take It. Another excuse for inaction where women are involved is the belief that women who enter nontraditional employment must recognize that they are voluntarily stepping into the role of a pioneer. All the barriers associated with a woman's success in these fields are seen as acceptable challenges which a pioneer must face. One hears repeatedly from agency personnel that "these women have to be tough, that's all there is to it." The assumption is that women who are breaking ground have willingly and knowingly chosen their burden. Therefore, it is up to them to endure the obstacles without complaint and also manage to perform well enough to smooth the road for the women who come after them.

The logic inherent in this attitude is rather confusing. Although it is true that the women who are presently entering nontraditional employment are pioneers, it does not follow that they either are or should be superwomen. Because they have chosen an occupation that has previously been precluded to women does not mean that they aspire to face the difficulties and abuse with no outside support. The pioneer view, however, acts as an impediment to agencies' creating support structures to help women with the problems associated with nontraditional work. Instead, there is a likelihood of suggesting that the women ought to be left alone to "guts it out".

Problems Emphasized, Rewards Diminished. The program staff in many agencies feels something akin to a moral responsibility to inform their women clients of the tremendous difficulties they will face if they enter a nontraditional job. Their objective is to be "completely honest". A woman, they contend, must know as thoroughly and dramatically as they can convey it, that her life will be virtual hell if she insists on pursuing her career goal. In the effort to present the true story, the portrayal of a future in a nontraditional job becomes incredibly skewed. There are, of course, important problems, but there are also major rewards. The latter often seems to be bypassed completely. The earning power, independence and mobility associated with many jobs women have not traditionally held is rarely discussed. The potential rewards are no less critical for a woman to know of, if a counselor wants to be honest, as are the problems. Consequently, one must doubt either the motives or the knowledge of people who give such an incomplete and distasteful picture to a woman who, with some encouragement, might attempt to enter a skilled, well-paid job.

The "honesty principle" and the "pioneer principle" are a potently negative combination in relation to women entering nontraditional employment. Before a woman chooses to enter a male dominated job, she will probably be told by many how extremely difficult, rough, and almost unbearable her road will be. Then if she does enter a nontraditional job, she will be expected to face whatever difficulties and hardships there are without being very upset by them because as a "pioneer" it is to be expected.

Agencies Must Be Practical. Many agency staff share the view that their primary task is to direct clients towards career paths characterized by a substantial likelihood of future employment. The feeling is that above all else they must be "practical" in their advice to clients. It is clearly more pragmatic from a short-range, narrow perspective to channel unemployed women into clerk/typist positions. A woman, they reason, is more likely to find immediate employment as a secretary than as an electrician.

The real issue is, in our estimation, whether it is practical in the long run to direct women into low-paying, deadend work--into jobs that do not provide a wage sufficient to support a family and household. Most counselors seem to take a short-run view. As one put it, "You have to be realistic, it's easier to get a job as a bookkeeper than a mechanic. It's that simple."

We maintain that this view is a "cop out" and disservice to women. We do not wish to minimize the desperate need many women have for immediate employment, nor do we think she should be denied the opportunity for immediate placement. We contend that she is entitled and the agency is responsible to also offer her alternative, longer range choices. This should be presented with a perspective of how to break the vicious circle of low pay, low job satisfaction. It is often a very self-righteous staff person who claims a moral obligation to an immediate clerical placement, but no obligation to present a chance at a better way of life through economic power.

Setting Sights Lower. Because there is so much resistance among employers and union groups, even agency personnel extremely committed to helping women into nontraditional employment are constantly "bumping their heads against a stone wall". Substantial amounts of energy are often channeled into a woman by a sympathetic staff person only to find all the doors for employment closed. It is, of course, discouraging to the woman herself, but it is also discouraging for the staff. One sees continuous effort unrecognized and becomes discouraged. The goals are more constrained, the perspective is narrowed, and expectations are limited.

Agency personnel learn to be content with minor successes and slight achievements. The range of possibilities has become smaller, and, as a result, preparing several women for placement in a few jobs is seen as a major accomplishment. Agency staff can be very much shaped by this dynamic, and its effect on the agencies working vigorously to get greater numbers of women into nontraditional employment can be disastrous. A receptionist in one agency told me, "Oh, we're doing great. We placed a woman last year in the construction trade."

When the goals are lowered so drastically, the satisfaction of the minimal goal is sufficient for agency personnel to consider that they have done their job well. In fact, the goals have become so limited that the achievement can be almost inconsequential.

Minorities and Women. Many of the agencies presently involved in the business of assisting women into nontraditional employment from their inception have had a minority group orientation. Most of the staff are minority males, and the target population of the agency is the minority clients of the community. In addition to this responsibility has been added the mandate to assist women seeking employment.

The program staff found at these agencies has an identifiable set of attitudes towards women trying to enter nontraditional employment. In almost all cases, it is believed that the problems of women are clearly and substantially secondary to problems of minority males. Women ironically become second class citizens within the minority setting, and their problems are not taken very seriously. Most of the minority staff are men who tend to see the issue of employment rights for women as a middle-class problem for middle-class housewives that "is not really very important, after all."

Many of these men are in decision-making positions today as a result of programs which were created in the early '60's. Essentially these programs gave preferential treatment to minorities to make up for their historical exclusion in most parts of the labor force. Yet, these same men are appalled at the idea of preferential treatment for women. They claim that women would not want it, and it would be unfair besides. They do not trust the women and see it as competitive, and not supportive of the civil rights movement.

> Black women in particular are suffering because of the connotations that the women's movement has taken...because of the movement it's very easy now to short change black folks, hire a white woman who is now considered a minority and still put us a step back.

This was the view of an administrator of an agency which is funded to place women in nontraditional employment. We seriously question the ability of such leadership to serve women equitably.

Somewhat related to this issue are the mixed feelings minority women exhibit about whether nontraditional employment is appropriate for them. Minority women staff members explained that their women clients are not very interested in nontraditional employment. They feel that they have done "dirty work" all of their lives and now want to be part of the "cushy" office downtown, dressed in chic clothes. They see no status in returning home at night in grubby work clothes. Other minority staff, frequently within the same organization, do not see this as a serious deterrent. In their opinion, minority women need the money as they have children to support and homes to maintain. They can come home from work and change into feminine clothes and afford to buy the things which give them economic status.

Men's Attitudes Vs. Women's. In general, agencies that exclusively serve women or women staff members in male dominated agencies are more understanding, supportive and sensitive to the needs and problems of women clients than are their male counterparts. Across the board, from receptionist to counselor to director, the women on the staff are as a rule more helpful to women clients than are the male staff. Two examples of the way in which career possibilities are presented to a woman client who has expressed interest in securing a job are illustrated. The following are quite typical quotes, one from a woman counselor, one from a man.

A woman counselor describing her approach to women clients:

> When I talk to a new person coming on board I tell them to look into the materials we have and ask as many questions as necessary about fields that sound interesting to them. I tell them to consider such things as whether they like physical work and working with their hands or not. Do they like working indoors or out. I tell them that right now there are a lot of opportunities opening up where there never have been before and they ought to give all the possibilities consideration.

A male counselor, on the other hand, told me the following:

> We are not here to tell people about all the different jobs there are and what is happening in each one. We are here with programs to run and we hope we get people with their heads screwed on right who know what they want when they walk in the door. We don't have that much time to spend trying to discover what the most suitable area for each individual is and direct them to it.

The male staff in the agencies considered are obviously not a homogeneous collection of women-haters. The previous discussion of the character and qualities of Mr. A makes quite clear that some male staff are very positive in their attitude towards women entering nontraditional employment. Overall, it is our conclusion that even sympathetic men fail to be truly sensitive and understanding of the range of problems accompanying a woman's choice to enter nontraditional work. The fact that her family, friends, co-workers, and employer might well present a fairly unified hostile front does not seem to touch deeply the male staff. The problem really is more the men's lack of familiarity and ability to empathize with the reality of the situation, than it is simply bad intentions.

During the course of an interview, the topic of the personal problems faced by a woman who elects nontraditional employment was often discussed in depth. The lack of awareness and insight into these issues on the part of male staff was almost universal and painfully clear. This is reflected in the following comments:

> You've brought up something which I must honestly say I was almost totally unaware of. These ladies are pioneers but I never thought much about the impact that would have on their private lives. It never entered my mind. It kind of makes me think of the problems they have to face which might affect them even while they are here.
>
> I really am totally uneducated in the problems women have. Until you brought all this stuff up I didn't really have much idea what was going on inside them.

Stereotypes as Bogus. Many of the everyday brand sexist attitudes popular among the male population as a whole are apparent in the male staff of the agencies. Whether they are aware of their attitudes it is difficult to know, but the fact that many hold blatantly stereotypical biases was clear in the interviews. Such common assumptions as that women are not strong enough to do physical work, or do not have any mechanical aptitude or ability, were often heard.

The absurdity of judging a whole group, let alone half of the human race, on the basis of myths and stereotypes is illustrated by the following set of contradictory comments by male staff about women's abilities and aptitudes in a number of areas. Almost every commonly held prejudice was both supported and contradicted by men in agencies who supposedly are in a position to make more reasonable assessments. The stereotypes will be shown to be clearly inappropriate.

Physical strength:

> Of course, most of the problem with women entering the trades is they just cannot face up to how much strength is required to do these kinds of jobs. They don't have it.

another comments:

> The girls can get under the cars with just as heavy equipment and wheel it around as well as anybody else. They do fine when it comes to lifting and pulling weight. I don't see much difference with the men. Besides, the whole issue of strength is overemphasized. Everybody helps everybody else in this line with the heavy stuff anyway.

Mechanical aptitude:

> In background the women are just not ready. They don't have enough practical experience and background in mechanics to pick these things up. I asked one girl if her car was a 6 or an 8, and she asked me 'How do you tell?'

another comments:

> I don't think the women are any less knowledgeable about mechanics on the average when they begin training with us. Very few men know anything about mechanics either.

Ability to use tools:

Their biggest problem is the use of hand tools. They have no idea. Some of them don't even know how to use a screwdriver.

another comments:

Using the tools presents no big problem for the women. They are familiar with electrical applicances at least. We have plenty of men that don't know the first thing about tools. So it's not an area that only women are not familiar with.

Performance on the job:

They have an awful lot of problems once they are working. The superintendents are down on them, the co-workers are rough on them, and sometimes they don't handle the pressure well. A lot more women just out lose their jobs than do men.

another comments:

The feedback we have been getting from employers is the women are working out great. They are more precise, dependable, and get to work on time. They are better employees.

Women's attitudes:

The women are slow. They are not aggressive enough in their attitude toward the job to be done and too aggressive in their attitude toward people around them.

another comments:

These women are so highly motivated and sure of what they want they will go through anything to get it. They want to learn; they don't want to waste time. They are more determined.

In the face of these diametrically opposed views, prejudices and counterprejudices, the absurdity of applying generalized biases to individuals becomes clear. As Mr. A commented, "I don't see anything in the trades that the average mechanically inclined woman can't do."

Vocational Education Teachers. Vocational education teachers, those often responsible for teaching the skills of any particular trade and an almost exclusively male group, deserve a special note in this discussion of staff attitudes. Most teachers in the vocational education field come directly from working in the trade they teach. Their attitudes, like all of us, are shaped to a great extent by the culture and belief system of the group with which they daily relate. The traditional attitude of most tradesmen has been that their work is "men's work, and it damn well ought to stay that way." Most vocational education teachers hold this attitude to varying degrees, although as a group they seem to be more open to women than their colleagues still working in the field. Their attitude has been described as, "they really don't want to be teaching women. They don't think they will ever make it so why should they waste their time," and "it's like me taking a knitting class. I'd never understand it."

One sentiment prevalent among vocational education instructors is a surface acceptance of women in the trades while just below the surface is the feeling that it somehow is not right. It is not "natural" for a woman to be doing certain things. They do not at all grasp the concept that it is not their place to decide for women what is and is not appropriate for them to be doing. That decision is the women's alone.

The superficial acceptance, probably a protective coloring to keep pace with the general trend in society towards broadening women's options, is demonstrated in the following quote:

> I've seen welders, women working in heavy industry and I wonder, what are they doing there? I'm not saying she shouldn't do it, but I just don't think it's the right job. It seems to me there are certain things women could be better off doing. Jobs in more pleasant circumstances. Now drafting, I don't see any reason for women not to enter that field.

THE WOMEN

Introduction

The women respondents cover a number of different situational categories. About a third are unemployed and looking for jobs, with a fairly even division between those seeking some form of nontraditional blue or white collar employment. A majority of the women are currently employed, the larger proportion in blue collar or apprenticeship positions. Many of the women are now working in the field they have chosen as a career, but a substantial number still occupy "transition" jobs.

These are seen as a means to long-range goals or simply to produce income, and the women are using the time to build skills and attend classes. A large number are in training full time, with CETA paid subsistence wages, an on-job-training program, government loans, or other government assistance funding. Very few of the women are on welfare; most of those who currently are unemployed subsist on unemployment, odd jobs, or the help of husbands or lovers.

About half of the women are single, ranging in age from eighteen to the late forties, with the highest proportion in their mid to late twenties. Some women are married, but there is a significant number of single heads of household, with young children in their care and having to work to support their families. Virtually all of the women share a real need and desire to work, and they defy almost every myth or generalization about why and how women work.

We arranged interviews with the women through contact with the agencies and training institutions under our purview, and most of the women had some involvement with at least one existing program. They sought assistance in finding a job or entering training. They took tutoring classes for apprenticeship or police exams. They either needed a job because they were unemployed or wanted better jobs, or they saw training as a means of gaining the skills necessary for a good job. They came from diverse backgrounds and their problems vary, but they strongly indicate a long-term commitment to work. Why they want to work and what their needs are in seeking employment form the basis upon which we have reached our conclusions and recommendations for the agencies and institutions. It is, therefore, necessary that we explore the background, work experience, and motivations of these women, as well as their actual experiences with the agency or training institution.

Who Are the Women

Our respondents are fairly equally divided in their origins between middle-class or working-class homes. A sizeable number of the women come from poverty backgrounds. Over half are white, a third black, and the rest either Asian-American or Spanish surnamed. Whatever their ethnicity, race, or class, however, their current job or career orientation is often antithetical to common stereotypes. White women with college backgrounds are found in the trades, and black women are going from work in drafting to school in architecture. Working-class women are learning to be engineers, and middle-class women strive to become welders.

There are numerous aspects of these women's prior experience which play a significant role in helping determine their eventual career choice. Some of these influences are positive--for example, women who channel an early interest in working with tools into a later employment goal of being a carpenter. The enormous problems associated with sex-role stereotyping in our society more often intrude and limit choices. Women are faced with a series of obstacles starting at birth, which can make it difficult, if not impossible, for her to enter nontraditional employment. A brief exploration of some of the factors enumerated by our informants as instrumental in shaping their career aspirations will help us identify the concerns that counselors, job developers, teachers, and other personnel involved in assisting women obtain nontraditional employment must address.

We attempt to examine the elements in a woman's background which best prepare her for nontraditional jobs. We look to the problems she faces in making such a career choice, the point at which the choice is made, the basis for the decision, and the barriers to selecting a nontraditional option.

Parental Encouragement. There seems to be an important relationship between a willingness to seek out nontraditional employment and the permission, example, and encouragement from parents to succeed, work hard, and make decisions for oneself. A young woman in management says:

> My parents never raised me just to be a wife and a mommy. They always talked career. My mom...never said, you could paint pictures for your kids. She always said, 'You could be an advertising executive....' She's a business woman herself....Besides my parents are very practical....You have to have something to fall back on.

We heard analogous comments during many of the interviews, but younger women, in particular, seem to have received this kind of early encouragement. A young apprentice says:

> My parents have always been real supportive of me and what I wanted to do....I think they've always felt that I could do whatever I wanted to do, and whatever I wanted to do was fine. My father always said, 'You have an inquisitive mind; you have a mechanical mind.'

After college, this woman has become an auto mechanic. She, and women like her, have been given by their parents 1) permission to succeed; 2) support for their own choices; and 3) encouragement to have a skill and work hard.

For some of the women, the encouragement has been all-inclusive:

> You can do anything you want to do, be anything you want to be because you have the intelligence to do it, the grades, the capacity.

For others, the directions are simple but telling: "There's no job too hard for you." "Don't depend on anyone but yourself." "Don't be too lazy to get up and work ...don't sit around and wait 'til they bring it cause nobody will bring you anything." But the overall message is clear--these women have a clear mandate to go after what they want and work hard to get it. It is no wonder that many of those women who finally enter a nontraditional career manage to succeed, despite the range of obstacles blocking their path. These are the women who repeatedly told us: "I was brought up to be aggressive about what I want. Nobody tells me what's right or wrong for me." The essential ingredient seems to be that they have been able to contemplate alternatives earlier than other women. They have not suffered the burden of so many women in our society who have been raised to be the typical submissive, passive female. These women do not see adulthood as simply a different pattern of being cared for (by a husband), and are, in fact, willing to think for themselves and accept responsibility for their lives.

Role Model Parents. The example of a successful parent, particularly the mother, appears to have given many of the women motivation and courage to pursue nontraditional work. Some have mothers who are successful businesswomen themselves;

others perceive their mothers as someone who "has her share of knowledge...she was an incredibly dynamic woman." Sometimes the message is mixed, but the young woman can still benefit from it:

> I was unusual in having a sort of bent toward a more nontraditional type of job. When something went wrong, we didn't wait for Daddy to come home to fix it. I had a mother who told me if I wanted to be a good wife, I would have to be a plumber, electrician, carpenter, gourmet cook.

In this instance, the woman is expected to be all things to all men. Yet, this allowed her to learn some of the skills she would later need for her career and gave her the push to be the "superwoman" that success so often seems to require.

Fathers can frequently also be extremely influential, particularly those in blue collar work or typically involved in home repairs. This positive reinforcement has direct ramifications, as for the young Asian who has worked since she was fourteen:

> I've always been fixing things. My father's taught me a lot....I did repairs and with my father I had no choice. I can do electrical work, carpentry, plumbing, you name it, I can do it....Nobody in my family does anything that's really traditional at all. My family's a hardworking family. My father's the type that if you get married, you better work too.

Such women are fortunate to have had a parent who enjoys a wide range of experiences, specifically those providing skills that will prove helpful in entering the trades. They have, in addition, the example of a strong commitment to work.

Use of Tools. Many of the women whom we interviewed have in common early familiarity with tools and, as a result, have a better background with which to enter nontraditional employment. Where it was not their parents, it was brothers, uncles, grandfathers, neighbors, cousins, and later boyfriends who let them watch, if not actively participate, when repair work was being done. One woman "had a grandfather who was an out-and-out fix-it man, and he lugged me around, showed me a lot of things, showed me how to work with tools." A welder says, "My father owns a gas station....I could go down and screw around and watch, and from that I could learn about cars." In many cases, the innate curiosity has not been stifled, even when the young girl is only allowed to watch and not to touch:

> There was an appreciation on my father's part of my inquisitiveness, but he would never really show me what he was doing and explain it to me....He used to put together these Heath kits...and I remember sitting there and watching him a lot and being really interested....I used to look through his Popular Mechanics books.

After obtaining her degree in sociology--probably to please her executive father--this woman recaptured her early interest and chose to become a mechanic.

Some of the women have had more direct access to tools, and their opportunity to experiment, to have an outlet for their curiosity, has had significant implication for their career pursuits:

> I was basically a tomboy all my life....To a certain extent I know how to do minor things, and it doesn't bother me at all--where other women wouldn't even know where to begin....It was a matter of my father being too lazy to do his own car, and I read the directions, like with the oil filter, and I said, 'Well, I'm going to try it and so I just looked into it.

This young Black woman currently works on an assembly line, but she has also applied for an apprenticeship in carpentry or in cabinetmaking.

The Tomboy. The theme of tomboy runs through many of the interviews, and the women directly tie their current motivations to what that self-image meant to them. One woman says:

> I never played with dolls or stuff like that. I played with the fellas. I've only been around with the fellas...and so that was one of the things that got me interested in cars.

Many mention brothers who do fix-it work, and the exposure has been part of daily life. One woman, with several brothers and no sisters, tells us she was always "more of a tomboy. I made...homemade skateboards and things like that. I played marbles and baseball with the boys." She also notes how she learned to enjoy "play-work" with the boys. A nineteen-year-old Chicana describes her life:

> I was a real tomboy and stuff, three brothers and all, the guys from the block.... I was in basketball, tennis, swimming, baseball, and volleyball, and I got the presidential award for track...and I coached basketball, the little league coach for the Golden State League.

She now is set on a career path which will allow her maximum freedom to continue her interests and plans to remain a little league coach, if only in her spare time.

For other women, being a tomboy is a means of rejecting typical female stereotypes: "I had to hang around with my brother because my oldest sister, she was talking all that girlie stuff, and I wasn't interested in any of that." Dolls and dress-up are confining when you're eager to test your environment and do something more than become a housewife and mother. A police officer who "used to jump off the roof when I was little and play in trees and all sorts of stuff" ties the challenge of her current career to her early zest for adventure. These women have had the opportunity to exercise these options, to explore new vistas, and it is reflected in their careers.

Refusing to be Stifled. Not all of our respondents had the opportunity or encouragement to explore diverse paths. Many complain that they wanted "boy toys" and could not have them, or "feel gypped out because we couldn't play baseball with the guys." Some say they were raised in the traditional mold and were never allowed to consider alternatives. A number of them acknowledge their own belief that girls are not supposed to be mechanically minded, and they were so locked into the stereotypes they did not look further. Other women admit feeling resentful when their fathers prevented them from participating or, sometimes, from even watching: "My father was never very instructive. He likes to do everything, and you're just his helper."

For some of the women, the constraint of their natural enthusiasm and curiosity results in alienation:

> There were intense moments of loneliness, but I got used to falling back on my own resources. I learned at an early age that you only have yourself to fall back on.

Angry at having their early overtures and interests stifled, they go into sullen hiding, hopefully to reemerge in adulthood better able to incorporate their particular world view into a viable set of life choices. They move from seeing themselves as deviants to perceiving a nontraditional career option as a positive statement: "I didn't think I had to take some kind of role."

A number of women reacted to attempts to inhibit them by rebelling at an early age. One young woman tells of the time when she was eight years old and insisted on picking up her father to prove a point, even though he said she would hurt herself. She did hurt herself, and "He says, see you can't do it. But I did it, I did it. I was trying to make him realize that anything you put your mind to, you can do." The need to prove that they can do it is strong and surfaces despite parents, friends, and society. Some even recognize that "male roles always interested me. It was sort of like an involuntary rebellion to be interested in male jobs," and no one is going to tell them that they cannot do what they want to do.

Socialization and the Schools--More Stifling. For many of the women interviewed, particularly those who had an early interest in the trades, tools, and working with their hands, the high school experience is a critical period in reinforcing traditional female roles and creating obstacles to pursuing alternative interests.

Often the women say that they wanted to take courses in mechanics, woodshop, or machine shop, but were afraid. They felt the pressures are just too great. As one woman puts it:

> When I was in high school, I tried to take mechanical drafting and girls just didn't take it. Nor did they take any shop courses in junior high. I was very interested in it, because I really liked putting things together and it was just a natural thing for me. I stayed away from it because there was a stigma attached to it as being weird in some way.

Stepping outside prescribed roles is threatening, particularly at a time when peer pressure is intense. It is easier simply not to even indicate that one was interested: "I just kept quiet because in those days you weren't 'cool'."

The schools play an enormous role in narrowing the options of young women. The typical experience for most respondents was:

> I took typing classes, business classes,...because that was the thing to do....We were taught that that's where the jobs for women were and so we should have that skill to fall back on.

Even if the women have the incentive to seek out courses, they are thwarted by the system. As one young woman says:

> I wanted to take woodshop and other things. I even went so far as to try to take it....When I got there, they saw I was a woman. They said, there's no classes for women.

This is hardly an isolated experience. Many of the women tell of attempting to enter classes and being harshly refused or of being told that classes were cancelled. This kind of overt exclusion may be diminishing now, but the continuing problem is reflected in this comment:

> When you went to your counselor, the roles were clear as far as the positions that were open. Well, if there was a position in machine shop open, it was never mentioned to you....I was just aware that those were men's classes and these were women's classes.

It is perhaps no coincidence that women who were required to take shop, or were actively encouraged to do so, were thus able to express their interest in nontraditional careers at an earlier age. It is quite obvious that if women have access to all classes, and enrollment is socially sanctioned and encouraged by counselors and teachers, there will be vast ramifications for increasing options and allowing women to focus on a variety of concerns. Here, for example, is the woman who took advantage of a fluke to find herself:

> My first year in high school they were using computers to enroll you in class. Everything got all messed up. Boys were being sent to the girls' gym, girls to the boys' gym. So instead of getting into home economics, a girlfriend and I got into a mechanical drawing class and decided to stay. I found I liked to draw and reproduce things on paper. The next semester I took it again and decided I wanted to be an architect.

Given this opportunity, other women would have been able to approach the world of work far better prepared to make a real choice, to follow early interests, and to explore a range of possibilities. In actuality, however, the experience is almost universally negative, and the women so often emerge from high school as this young woman did:

> When I was younger I was into all kinds of things--athletics especially. I started feeling a lot of pressure at thirteen and fourteen and I dropped everything. I was talented and creative and talked myself into believing I was dumb. My main purpose in life then was to be a housewife--and whatever else all girls are supposed to think.

What Happens When School Lets Out. As the woman quoted above, many women graduate from high school without any clear idea of what they want to do. College may be the next step, but that possibility may be closed to some. Even now, several of the women we interviewed had to take second place:

> I had a partial scholarship to college out of high school. My father said 'no, any money I have for college is for your brother' (who was eighteen months old at the time). He said the only reason women go to college is to find a man to marry, 'and I'm sure you can find one without going to college.'

On the other hand, many of the women have gone to college rather automatically, fulfilling parental expectations. "It was in my family" says one woman--one of the many to go to matriculate but never determine future directions. One woman "always figured I'd be a psychologist, a sociologist, or an 'ologist of some kind," but college was not the answer for her and she found much later that she was still without purpose. She, as others, is the victim of parents who often anticipate that their daughters will get a degree but without any specific notions about what happens once she has it. If a woman has not internalized the traditional values by the time she graduates from high school, college and her parents' expectations may furnish the final touch and she is ready for marriage or the secretarial mill.

> After I graduated with a BA in Poly Sci I figured I'll just go get a secretary job. It was just sort of like the thing to do. I didn't even look for another kind of job.

Whether it is a function of parental attitudes, or poor counseling at the high school or college level, so many women have an extremely difficult time finding a career direction. This has particularly been the experience of many of the older respondents who have gone the traditional housewife route only to find later that they want more fulfilling lives. Others have a career forced upon them through the circumstances surrounding the break-up of a marriage.

The woman who bypasses college also is often unprepared for what awaits her. She too is subject to enormous pressures to succumb to traditional models. The woman quoted above, who did not get to go to college, married because "there just weren't other options in 1959 in Colorado--you got married or you worked at JC Penney's." The early interests are dropped--the pressures of role definitions impressed upon them by parents, as well as others, are frequently of too great a magnitude to surmount.

Breaking the Barriers

After reaching adulthood, and prior to arriving at one of the agencies or institutions under our purview, our respondents have followed a number of different courses. Personality is often a determining factor: some of the women are more unsure of themselves, less likely to take risks, and as a result usually have either defined traditional roles for themselves or have not even thought in career terms. Many are quite confident, well motivated, have specific employment goals, and pursue them diligently. Other factors are situational or speak to larger cultural and social changes which help determine or reinforce the career direction of these women. Marriage and children, divorce, and problems engendered are often critical. The whole movement for equality through affirmative action in the workplace has obviously played a large part in shaping the lives and occupations of many of the women we interviewed. We shall now explore some of these determinants, and the effects they have had on career choice. We seek to outline the implications of these factors as to the needs women have for assistance in determining employment aspirations, entering the workplace with the requisite skills, and becoming successful in their chosen field.

The New Woman. Many of the women we interviewed, particularly those in their twenties and early thirties, exhibit consistent personality traits which augur well for their success in nontraditional employment. They demonstrate confidence, initiative and persistence in overcoming the stereotypes and barriers inherent now in obtaining a male dominated job. For them, the process of career planning is not so much the decision of what to do but how to obtain the skills or the job.

These women--consciously or unconsciously--exemplify the changes in women's consciousness over the past decade, and many of them do, in fact, strongly identify with the women's movement. They are by definition non-conformists and are often motivated by a pioneering spirit. They love the challenge of going in and breaking down barriers for themselves and for other women. They have a strong sense of the need for equality and are eager to be part of that battle.

They share an unusually high degree of self-assurance and the will to succeed. Many of the women talk of the need not to "go off into something unless you have confidence," and realize that quite often "You have to be a whole lot better than a man to get that kind of position." They have, as a young woman in middle management put it, "the confidence in myself to know that I could get a job that I wanted."

This positive sense of self is accompanied by an impatience with sex-role stereotyping: "It makes me angry when somebody says I can't do something--it makes me more determined." Whatever the pressures to adhere to typical female patterns, some clearly were not to be held back:

> Nobody was going to tell me I couldn't do it. I wanted to prove to myself as well as my family, friends...that I could do the job. I am still in that frame of mind.

Another young Asian woman who works as a mechanic servicing machines characterized it this way:

> It is that push inside you. That's what makes you go out in the first place. It's something in you that creates the interest and you try it. If you fail, start again if you have the interest.

Interview after interview attest to the fact that these women are not going to be stymied in their efforts to succeed:

> I'm the type of person if somebody tells me I can't do it, you know, well, yeah, I can.
>
> I'm a fighter. I won't quit until I beat it.
>
> I fight for everything. I work hard for the money I make.
>
> I was so determined that I wanted to get in there and I was not about to let them shuffle me around.

Many of the women are fully cognizant of the fact that these qualities are necessary to get a nontraditional job. One young woman commented: "I wouldn't recommend it to somebody who's unsure of herself and kind of shy and withdrawn." Another flatly says that "the person who comes in who isn't as determined as me will quit." They know how hard it is to get the jobs, even with attributes that most employers would value highly in an employee.

In like manner, the women are sure of their abilities to handle the work. The number of women entering apprenticeships and other blue collar fields, who have no doubts they are equal to the task of succeeding at these skilled jobs, is remarkable. One woman speaks for many:

> I feel competent within myself that I know there isn't a job that, if I learned the skill, I couldn't do, unless it was too heavy for me, that physically I couldn't handle it.

Gone is the image of the helpless female, made obsolete by young women who know what they can do:

> I'm lucky. I have a very good memory and I pick up things very fast, and I happen to be mechanically inclined which helps a lot when you start taking apart saws and putting them back together and stuff.

They are not mystified by "men's work" nor afraid of it. So natural is the impulse for the nontraditional that, when asked if they are fearful of the new experience with machinery, we often heard: "I didn't know that I should be afraid, I guess."

A growing phenomenon among these women is their spirit of adventure. Where only a few years ago, women were much more cautious in moving freely from one place to another, now we observe a large proportion of them striking out completely on their own. They are comfortable traveling coast to coast--often without friend lover, or husband for company--and working here and there while seeing the world, figuring out what they want to do, and enjoying the freedom to make fairly self-conscious decisions about their careers.

With this willingness to explore comes the desire for independence. Almost all say they want to be self-sufficient in order to not have to be totally dependent on a man. They do not want to have to use their femininity to get men to do things for them. They talk about the pressure a woman feels if she cannot support herself--to stay with a man because she feels unable to do anything else, to do what he says or he will not give her any money. The need for independence is one of the factors that will continue to threaten the traditional male-female patterns of relationships--men need women to need them as a way of "buying" them, in much the same way women feel they need their "femininity" to buy favors from men.

As these young women insist on asserting themselves, there consequently will be need for the job market to accommodate them. They must be allowed a wider range of employment opportunities. It means also that counselors, job developers, employers and all others involved in assisting women into careers, particularly men in these positions, will have to adapt to new concepts of sex-patterning and acceptance of women in unfamiliar roles. One of the most obvious problems these women face is an unwillingness on the part of many men--and women as well--to take them seriously. If we are to prevent the alienation, frustration, and confrontations that ensue, better ways will have to be developed to assist employers and agency and training personnel to learn respect for the skills and personal qualities that characterize so many young women entering today's job market.

The goal of independence takes yet another form for some women:

> I wanted to be able to do something that I could do on my own or with friends so I wouldn't have to be dependent on someone to give me a job.

They seek skills that will enable them to travel and yet be able to get a job wherever they go. They talk about starting their own businesses; they want to move to the country and start an auto repair shop; they want to work in situations with a high degree of autonomy; or they are ambitious to become leaders in their field. Family is no longer the center of their existence. Although they often expect to have a child, many of these women are in no hurry, and some plan never to have children. Typically, they speak of the future in terms of employment objectives, and of maintaining a balance or wholeness to their work and personal lives.

The impact of these changes are manifold. Minimally, it is clear that the role of work in the lives of many women is changing so dramatically that there will be no retreating from affirmative action in the workplace. Beyond that, the new patterns indicate a rethinking about where and how these women work. If they continue to assert their independence, they will demand different working hours, more possibilities for entering their own businesses, and less reliance upon traditional sources of employment.

Several women spoke of their anger at the pressures to work for large companies, and their reluctance to do so. Others speak about forming businesses based on cooperative structures, and some have already had that kind of experience. Many large companies are currently facing problems of worker alienation--pressure to shorten the work week and allow for more autonomy and participation by workers. With a sizeable number of women now adding their voices, in addition to the other ramifications of their involvement, the pace of the reordering seems likely to accelerate. This adds further urgency to the need to solve the problems of women seeking nontraditional work.

Breaking Out. The process from early leanings toward a career goal and pursuit of that goal in adult life is an uninterrupted one. For some of the women described above, however, there was a time lapse, and when asked what motivated them, they talked in terms of immediate influences--usually a combination of situational and motivational factors. As the interview proceeded, they recalled things from their past which they realized were also factors. Those early interests, so often suppressed, were then reawakened by subsequent events. There is usually one final event--a friend's help, a brochure, a coincidence, a job counselor that brings it all together and inspires the woman to act. These women, too, are typical of our age; they too need or want to break out of their roles, and the process by which they do so sheds much light on the quality and kind of assistance they need.

For many, the process is similar:

> I'd worked as a waitress and a salesclerk in a drugstore. Those are all low-paying kinds of jobs. I decided I needed some kind of profession. I thought about going to college, but I didn't know what college would give you a profession of. So I thought I'd like to find out about machinery.

They start out in the traditional women's jobs and go through a process of disillusionment, discouragement, or self-discovery. Some have grown up always expecting to be wives and mothers, and graduate from high school and college finding they are not prepared to support themselves:

> I graduated from the art institute and started looking for a job. Very few people can support themselves through their art. I saw people in their twenties and thirties who can't get a job at more than two dollars an hour, so I said I'm getting a skill.

Many of these women have gone from job to job, and as they mature begin to "realize no one is going to take care of me. I have to take care of myself." Even when married, they know that although they might be young now, the future is uncertain:

> It's not going to last forever, I've got two kids to support....I've got to do something that is going to help my husband if he is hurt. He's taken care of me all these years, and...I want to help my family and show myself that I can do something other than sit at a desk all day or cook over a stove.

The stirrings for independence awaken the need for economic well-being and the necessity of taking responsibility for oneself:

> The only thing that you can do if you're not going to get married, you're not going to have some guy or some other woman support you, you got to have a skill that you can make some money at, so I chose one.

Women who visit an agency at this point in their lives are ideal candidates for good job counseling. Several of the women we interviewed actually came to the agency just for this sort of assistance. More often, they either seek direction on their own--research at the library, self-search for jobs--or from talking to friends or relatives. One young woman gives us an idea of how well this process can work. She had been a sociology major in college, had had several typically women's jobs--secretary, waitress--and finally realized she was going nowhere. She asked a friend to give her an aptitude test and learned a great deal:

> I rated really high on statistics, high on the functional and mechanical and very low on social and very low on enterprising. And it tells you whether you are more closely aligned with being introverted as opposed to extroverted, and I was very much into being in the introverted section...and that's something I had been fighting all my life because I was brought up to be a social person....being accommodating, being sincere, the nurturer....So I thought...no wonder I don't want to be a counselor. I don't want to cope with anybody else's problems ....I started to think about what I wanted to be and I focused in on the fact that I like working with my hands....I'm functional.

Now she is studying auto mechanics and loves her work.

Once a woman knows she needs a skill, a counselor, or a course or workshop in career decision-making can greatly enhance her efforts to determine a good career direction. If this were readily available, we would find many more women--and men--entering the world of work with a firmer decision and a surer commitment. There is no questioning the value of making an informed choice. As one young woman expresses it:

> It's important for women to be aware of what's happening, so we can make choices. When you're able to choose, your whole trip is going to be different. If you can make choices, you're going to be an asset to a company.

Self-Discovery Through Living. Many women were finding themselves not only unprepared to earn a living, but unprepared to live:

> So many women are kept apart from the real world. They are surrounded by things, and they don't know how any of them work. They don't know how the lights work, what happens when they flush the toilet, why water comes out of the faucet.

The woman who made this observation is feeling the importance of being familiar with her environment and having some control over it. Often a woman takes a class in carpentry or auto mechanics to be able to take care of her own needs, or teaches herself out of necessity. Frequently husbands and wives have worked together to maintain or remodel their houses, and the women thereby develop skills and enjoy it. Later, they see these skills as a potential means of earning a living:

> I've always been into social sciences. One of the things I didn't like about myself was that I didn't consider I was capable of doing anything. I had to make sure I could provide for myself. I took carpentry, rooflaying and architectural drafting so I could build a cabin in the country. I had a really marvelous time learning how to build and put things together. Then I took a surveying class so I could set the boundaries on the land. I enjoyed it and that here is a way of making money that takes me outside.

For other women, alternative communities are nurturing ones in which they can break through conventional restrictions:

> I lived in a hippie commune where we worked on cars. I loved it and decided I wanted to get that skill.

> I lived with some people who were carpenters and that's how I started gravitating towards that.

Artists' cooperatives are another community in which to learn. Many of them foster interests in arts, crafts, theatre, and/or photography. The freedom to do offbeat things, be accepted because they are artists, and the absence of a distinction between work for men and work for women builds encouragement to branch out in new directions. They begin to make the connection between their art background and seeing the option for a variety of nontraditional work:

> Carpentry was an especially good trade for me because I can visualize problems--something that comes from my art background.

These are women who seek training to acquire the skills they will need to pursue their new-found interests. Either they require definite referral to specific training, or they need information about a range of possibilities and the prerequisites for undertaking various careers. However ill-prepared they are coming out of high school or college, once they do find direction, the training and access to that training ought to be available. More opportunities must obviously be created earlier to allow a wider range of experience prior to entering the job market.

The Emerging Woman--The Influence of the Women's Movement. Regardless of how certain the women are of their desire to succeed and their objective of a new occupational pursuit, they often reach their career decision by a slow process of breaking through deeply entrenched notions of what is appropriate work for women. The thought of being a secretary may be anathema, but what else is possible may not be so obvious. The stereotypes women have internalized are just as difficult to confront as those in society at large. The emerging examples of women occupying nontraditional jobs is extremely significant.

Having the knowledge that other women are interested in and are working in nontraditional employment has had a profound effect. Articles in Ms. Magazine, Family Circle, Essence, and in agency brochures which show pictures of women and describe their jobs have given several of the women the extra push they needed to give serious consideration to their own career aspirations. One woman happened to pick up a magazine one day and observed:

> The whole book was designed toward women in nontraditional jobs....I saw how women are really...in there. They're working, they're making the money, they're happy and, it's not like the job is too strenuous. It hasn't changed their femininity....You know, I was like that stereotype--believed that if I went and started becoming a telephone installer I would become masculine....I wasn't supposed to do that. I'm supposed to do women's jobs, but after I read the article, I found out that, hey, it doesn't change anything. You're still a woman. You're just making some money.

The presence of films, books on the women's movement, and women's studies courses are all mentioned as influential in the decision to break out of traditional roles and in the realization of new possibilities.

Many women speak also of how they have been influenced by the example of women doing the jobs--painters, phone installers, construction workers, bus drivers.

One woman came to an agency and was not at all receptive to the idea of nontraditional employment. She had never considered the issues of sex-role stereotyping in employment. A counselor had broached the subject, but she was oblivious to it. Some time later her friends were talking about a truck-driving course, "And now I've been noticing the ladies driving buses, so I began to think about it." The excitement of the awakening these experiences engender is captured for us by one young woman whose friendship with a woman flyer helped her take off on her own new career. She learns to fly from her friend, and says:

> Wait a minute! What else can I do? There's got to be a lot of things I can do that I didn't think I could, that I wasn't allowed to do before.

The women see new role models to emulate and new paths to choose from, and the effect spirals. Not only does the example of successful women tend to reinforce and give direction to others, but it also, in all probability, gives us a taste of what is to come as more and more women see unlimited options open to them.

Many of the problems faced by our respondents as they attempt to cope in their pioneer roles will begin to lessen, and give rise to new ones--how to accommodate more people in the workplace and how to successfully manage the problems of family and work. Many of these questions are being addressed today, but there are no easy solutions in sight. In the meantime, the women still encounter severe difficulties in entering the job market, and those who assist them to do so will increasingly feel the pressure to help them find the right job. Fortunately, we can learn from the effects thus far and recognize that, for many women, the existence of other women in jobs is a good device for demonstrating where and how women can work effectively. In this way, a realistic view of what a nontraditional job means for a woman can be gained. Using already employed women as a resource to help young women better understand their choices is but one of many ways to more effectively make job placements.

Disgust. The effects of the women's movement and the move toward affirmative action and equality in the workplace are also obvious in the attitude of these women toward traditional salaries. Even women who speak contemptuously of "Women's Lib" will say that they want equal pay for equal work and will demand recognition for their abilities. Our respondents declare:

> Women have to be allowed to support themselves; all we're asking is to take some of the burden off men.
>
> I don't see it as getting into a man's world, I see it as getting into a job.

They want to be equals, and they do not want to experience differential treatment on the basis of sex.

Women have realized that what they have been channeled into is not what they wanted. They do not want to sit at a desk all day; offices can be unpleasant workplaces for many--shuffling papers can bring no feeling of accomplishment, little challenge and inadequate money. There often is no career ladder built into clerical positions, and waitressing is extremely hard work with very little financial remuneration. As the women see it:

> I don't want to be a secretary anymore cause there's just no chance of advancement; you're stuck.

and even worse:

> You don't really do much except just sort of exist.

They recognize that the salary for women's work cannot make ends meet, particularly when there are children to support. Those who have been on welfare report that frequently the jobs they can locate pay so little that they actually have less money working than they do on welfare. Given the added expenses of commuting, child care, appropriate clothing, and the like, they are at an even greater disadvantage. They are all aware that "men's jobs pay more money," and that these jobs are not readily available to them. They all see what a deadend most women's jobs are:

> I had to make a living, but you get up in the morning, and you have to push yourself to go to a job. I want to get up and say, 'Oh, I go to work' and be happy and go right out to work and have a nice day at work, enjoy what I'm doing. Why work eight or ten hours a day and hate it? That's half of your life that you're hating doing something.

For many women, the decision to finally break out of women's jobs took this form:

> It came out of anger, to be honest...at how come, because we are women--which is a fantastic thing to be--I can't make enough to sustain me and my children if I have to.

They understand how it works:

> You have got a better opportunity in a man's world if you can get your foot in the door. Advancements are better and you're not stereotyped anymore... like a lot of divorcees and separated moms going out there, it's the money that keeps them at the job.

These women need decent paying jobs. They are angry because they are unemployed, or underemployed.

The Single Mother. Nowhere is the degree of disenchantment more obvious than with the single mother. Marriages are breaking up or not taking place, and women are discovering they are on their own to provide for themselves and, in many cases, for a family. The most common reason for working or looking for work is the need for money, and most "women's work" will not provide a living wage:

> When my husband and I separated, I found I couldn't survive on jobs that I could get--traditional female jobs. The money was too bad. I worked fifty to sixty hours per week as a sales clerk trying to support myself.

The women do not want to be on welfare--the financial rewards are poor and self-respect is undermined: "It makes you feel like you are inadequate if you can't get enough money to really support your family completely." Most feel that it is not worth it to leave their children and work hard all day for a salary that barely covers expenses.

> I've got to get into something that will enable me to live comfortably so that my son will be able to do all the things that anybody could do with or without a father.

In some cases, the need may be even greater since the ex-husband may not contribute at all. For one woman:

> Getting into nontraditional work is an opportunity for me to be able to really advance in order to buy a home and to really be able to provide for my kids and getting a good paying job, which is for me. They've got it set up where males have a certain pay scale, and women have another one, you know.

Even the more fortunate single mother invariably has ambitions to succeed which she ties directly to supporting her children. They speak of this responsibility to their children positively, as a need to give their children not only material wealth but the even more important example of a successful parent.

The frustrations of unemployment and underemployment are extremely real for the single head of household and play a significant role in the needs and motives of virtually all the women we interviewed. Solving these problems is presumably one of the primary goals of CETA. As we shall discuss below, however, the manner in which these women have been treated and the obvious difficulties they have had in obtaining equal pay and equal work do not fulfill the promises of the program.

The Displaced Homemaker. The dilemma of the woman over forty is even more acute. If she has gone to one of the agencies for help, it is because she is a displaced homemaker or because she has been laid off. Because of their age, these women normally have enormous trouble locating employment. They often speak of age discrimination in their job search efforts. Employers even tell them directly that they are too old. Then, in cases where the woman reports them, denials are offered to official inquiries. Beyond this blatant affront to the law, the women have an additional burden. They are without readily marketable skills because of years of childraising and lack self-confidence as they face the world of work they have not encountered in years.

Of all the women we interviewed, it is this group that seems to suffer the most. One woman worked in a cannery for eight years during her "mother-housewife" years before being widowed. Now, after three years of unemployment and constant job search, she is in an on-job-training position. She likes her job:

> ...because I've been out of work so long and it's good to see a paycheck. I was ready to go to the crazy house. It was getting bad. I was doing nothing. I was sitting here.

Another, a lab technician, has looked for a year but finds her skills outdated. She is afraid she may be too old to get trained and hired into a new job. "I could have had a career if I really had thought about it...at the right age," she says wistfully. For some it is too late, or at least they think it is too late. One woman, who has subsisted on sales and secretarial jobs for years portrays what is by now a rather classic story of the working wife who supported her husband through school:

> He got his degree, and I never got mine. I am not bitter precisely, but when I think of all the years I wasted it is rather sad to me....I'm not sitting here telling you I chose this as a career. I didn't. It's just an experience, and it's a way I can make it. And I have done secretarial work for a number of years. I am in my forties now. It's where I am at because I haven't got my degree and so that's really the whole story.

Now, however, she is a single parent, earning $691 a month, and cannot see any way out.

Both the single head of household and the older women often have fer[illegible] needs for special kinds of assistance: reintroduction to the world of work; assertiveness training or other kinds of group work to restore confidence in themselves; career counseling to help them discover talents, abilities, and interests which they might not recognize as appropriate or marketable; financial assistance for child care and transportation while seeking employment and during training; and a concerted advocacy for their right to enter jobs that will pay them a decent wage. If this help is not provided, we are perpetuating, and even escalating, the innumerable problems of women who must be away from their families to earn a living and yet cannot afford to get adequate care for them. Either they will sink back into the welfare syndrome, or they will be forced to abandon their children to improper care or, even worse, no care at all. They deserve the dignity that a good job can help engender and which can be fostered by means of sensitive, thorough support.

Male Attitudes

Unquestionably, one of the most difficult barriers to women seeking to enter nontraditional employment is the attitude of their male supervisors, co-workers, teachers or prospective employers. The presence of women is a threat, or a challenge, to the many men who are so firmly entrenched in their traditional roles that they either resent, ridicule, patronize, or harass the women who dare enter their world. Man's work is man's world, and, as a result, the intrusion of women can be quite traumatic. It can also take another form: "It can be subtle; it's not really overt; it's more of a team type of thing." The women are seen as invading a male sanctuary where the men are used to working only with one another. As is later discussed in detail, the women have tremendous problems dealing with treatment to which they are often subjected. Some of them are more successful than others in developing coping mechanisms, but all see the problems as clustering around several male traits we now examine.

Paternalism. Many women contend that the older men have the worst reactions because they are so firmly set in the traditional male-female roles. This attitude most obviously is displayed by the paternalistic approach to women. These men play the part of the "helping father", always willing to show the women how to do something. Were it limited simply to instruction, or useful recommendations, the women would be at an advantage. The problem comes when too much help is given, as it prevents the women from important learning experiences. The aura of protectiveness may give the impression of good intentions, but the women are really being hindered in achieving their goals.

In the first place, the act of helping, however well motivated, sets her apart:

> I still, constantly in my job, have people, when I'm up on the ladder say to me--be careful, don't fall--and I can't help but be irritated by that because I know they wouldn't say that to a man.

It is demoralizing to think that you are being treated like a child, simply because you are a woman. Women have long been considered too weak, too delicate, or whatever stereotype is appropriate to justify the male's protective impulse.

Superiority. Another prevalent male attitude is based on the assumption that women do not know what they are doing:

> They figure we're stupid and unable to do it, and they just take over. That's compounded by the fact that we do ask more questions, an indication to them of stupidity.

Many women speak of this kind of condescension. They talk of men repeatedly approaching them with advice on how to do something, of taking the work away from them, or of giving them nothing to do. When the women attempt to speak for themselves, they are clearly given the message that they are unequal to the task, without ever having had the opportunity to learn, or even to fail:

> And it means you are constantly watched. Whenever I get my hand cut, a stud will say, 'See, you shouldn't be here at all. You should be over there typing, welding. Engine overhaul is a man's job.'

The women would prefer to try to prove themselves, even at the risk of failure. What a blow to one's self-confidence to face daily these assumptions about one's capabilities--to be a model for demonstrating women's inadequacy.

Underlying some men's behavior is the attitude which says, "let me do the work because I know what I'm doing and I won't share any of my information with you." They seem to feel the need to guard their knowledge, to keep it a secret from the women. It is a means of maintaining their superiority in the workplace. If a man's sense of himself is derived in part from the belief that he is superior to women, that he can do things they cannot do and that that is what makes him special, then he is very threatened indeed by the prospect that women can do it too. He must see it as a threat to his "manliness"--something upon which he places a very high value.

Women as Object. The threat to a man's traditional view of himself also comes through in the objectification of women--making them sex symbols, household items, or whatever form it takes to underscore the assumption that women do not belong in a man's world. Those who hold this attitude bring with them all the baggage of sex-role stereotyping; some insist to their faces that women belong in the home, or in bed, and feel justified in publicly voicing these sentiments:

> I was trying to talk to the foreman...but this guy comes up from behind and he says what do you want a man's job for....He just went on and on and he wouldn't let me and this foreman talk....I tried to explain to him that I wasn't trying to take a man's job, that I just wanted to be self-supporting. I couldn't get too many words in because he was just going on and on, really putting me down....He said a woman belongs in the kitchen or at home, this is a man's job, man's supposed to bring home the bread.

Even more difficult for the women to handle is another situation faced by all those who work in or train for nontraditional jobs. There are invariably men who "really try to relate to you as some kind of sexual object." When the women start to work, "well, first it's just games, and you know, the shuck and jive, and there's the hustle." The men, however, can make life miserable for a woman who wants to do her job and is followed by cat-calls, innuendos, taunts and teases throughout the working day, as has been related to us by a number of respondents. One woman is psychologically traumatized because the sexual overture led to violence. Another woman resisted and, as a direct consequence, was subsequently laid off.

Several women comment that even after they have been "accepted", the problem takes a different and peculiar form:

> It's kind of weird that they relate to me like a man....When they're looking at the girls on the street, they'll make these remarks about, like 'Look at that girl's ass.'

The problem is not whether there is any sexual interest; in any meeting of the sexes that is an inevitable likelihood. What is so oppressive is that there is no let-up for the women, and it also precludes establishing a work relationship between equals. Whether a woman is "one of the guys", and thus treated to the derisive remarks about other women, or she is herself repeatedly subject to advances, it is a humiliating and demoralizing atmosphere within which to work.

The Issue of Power. The treatment described above speaks to the ultimate problem with men on the job, and that is power. Men appear to be extremely uncomfortable with the recent shift in sex roles. In response, they become angry and, in turn, make life miserable for the women by putting them down, either consciously or unconsciously.

> Sometimes the hassling wasn't a specific, 'you're not going to make it here'.... It was more general, like 'We don't want women,' which I can understand. It's a male dominated field and the guys...many of them are on a macho type trip. When you have a woman coming in, it's sort of deflating your image of yourself ....So I try to be as understanding, as open-minded of their opinions as possible.

No matter how hard she may try, it is very difficult for a woman alone on the job to endure the steady barrage of insults day after day. For the men, too, the situation is often confusing, and they showed uncertainty about what is appropriate behavior:

> My supervisor had a conflict; he didn't know how to treat me. He would go from making me do things that it would be crazy for anybody to do to being protective.

Many of the men are sincerely enthusiastic about women entering these fields, or at least they are grudgingly willing to accept what is inevitable. They must, however, struggle themselves to meet the new roles and challenges. It is just as difficult to consider giving up power, whatever its implications, as it is to assume power that one has historically been denied. If women are to obtain jobs that have hitherto been unavailable to them, men are going to have to take responsibility for changing their attitudes. They must realize that the entry of women into new arenas is ultimately no threat to their masculinity, their desire to achieve, or their ability to be kind and nurturing human beings.

The Employer--A Barrier to Employment. Negative male attitudes become intertwined in the work world with all the myths, stereotypes, and assumptions which our society holds about the abilities, motives, and behavior of women. Although the concept of equality has received much press in recent years, our research does not lead us to conclude that there have been many substantive improvements in the job picture for women. There is lip service, but the habits or presumption and prejudice are strongly engrained. Even under current affirmative action legislation, employers utilize a variety of strategies to do what they want, and that usually means maintaining the status quo or the presumably tried and true role patterns. There is a wealth of "reasons" not to hire women; there are hosts of conscious and unconscious stereotypes. Most of the women we interviewed who are seeking or are in nontraditional jobs are still the pioneers. If they are to be joined by other women, more work must be done to change attitudes of employers and to increase the participation of women in a wider range of occupations. The experiences reported by many of our respondents are grim reminders of just how much further we have to go. The search for work is not easy.

Testing and Interviewing. The most obvious problem with testing and interviewing is that both can be used to manipulate a situation to desired ends. Rampant abuse of such procedures can easily occur: unfair standards can be applied; implicit prejudices can help formulate impertinent or irrelevant questions; and different tests may be administered arbitrarily. One respondent discovered that the company she had applied to has a preliminary test to which only women were subjected. Unfortunately, she did not investigate sufficiently to determine whether or not the company is acting illegally. Another woman accidentally learned that a male acquaintance called for an apprenticeship had scored lower than she had on the test. This woman threatened to sue the employer, leaving him no choice but to bring in all those who had the higher scores. If she had not learned of the man's score, she would presumably never have complained. In both of these cases, the employer is probably acting illegally. What matters, however, is whether one is caught and forced to take remedial action. The employer can usually find a way to escape accountability and the burden of proof seems to be with the woman.

The women express much frustration with employers who interview them, but it is coupled with a feeling of impotence about changing anything. They are subjected to the "women-only" questions:

> It's so disgusting to go on a job interview, and be asked about birth control methods and my feeling on having a family and getting married.

Most women are asked these questions when they apply for any job. For nontraditional blue collar jobs, the questions are even more innovative: "Do you mind if someone uses bad language around you?" or "Do you mind getting your hands dirty?" This latter question was asked one woman even though the interviewer presumably knew she had just finished training for the job. Another woman, angered by the impertinence of the question said: "Isn't that what they made soap for?" As her answer demonstrates, the interviewer's question is obviously irrelevant in the first place and, even worse, it is--like many of the questions women are asked--not one that would be asked of a male applicant.

Sometimes the interview situation becomes an arena for a real battle, something for which the woman has not bargained in making application. One woman walked into a room simply wanting to get the welding job for which she had just finished training, and the men had another agenda. They directed a set of questions to her that so incurred her wrath that months later in talking to us she is still enraged:

> This last job interview I had for the pipefitter's apprenticeship program,... my friends were just shaking their heads because like everything they asked me was on the women's movement. And I said, what are you trying to do, make me out as a libber, you know, like give me a bad note--because you're writing this down. It wasn't taped, it was written down in their own hand, and I'm going, boy this is really...plus they classified. They had all the Negroes, Chicanos, Indians, Orientals, and white male classification, and I was classified as a white male....I said, why is that? And he goes, you've got equal rights. And I said you're telling me you've got classifications for Negroes, Indians, and I've got equal rights, and you're classifying me as a white male, and asking me what my mechanical abilities are. So don't tell me that, and then some of the other questions he asked me, oh yeah, what do you and your boyfriend do, and I said, that's none of your business what me and my boyfriend do. That's got nothing to do with this job. And he said, well, we want to know what your leisure activities are together and stuff. And I said, I don't ask you what you and your wife do at night.

Whatever motives underlie this treatment, the woman bears the brunt of it. She has to make it through the crossfire just to be put on a list to be hired. Many of the women, particularly those in the trades, speak of having similar experiences in the interview situations and express rage at what they see as male contempt. One woman in Los Angeles summarized the dilemma many face when asked whether a woman seeking a nontraditional job would know where to go:

> She'd have a lot of problems down here. Unless she knew some women who were into it, because probably the first thing that she would do would be to go to one of the Joint Apprenticeship Committees and then she'd get slapped in the face there.

The Runaround. After the women have been into the job search for awhile, the cynicism begins to develop in many of them. They begin to realize that the employer will bend and twist truth in order to avoid hiring a woman. During a concentrated search for a job as a machine repairperson, this woman explains what so many of the women feel they are up against:

> ...a lot of certain big corporations welcome you with open arms on the surface but then throw up all kinds of roadblocks to ever getting anywhere in terms of being hired in that position, because they don't want you to be able to say that they don't treat you equal as a woman. But on the other hand, they don't want to upset the men who've been there for years and years and are doing a good job and don't want to see a woman in the place except as a secretary. They just beat around the bush and say come back next week. Talk to us again. You come back next week and it's the same story over again. I guess they hope that you get tired of the whole thing before they really do anything. They say, well, we don't have any openings now but if you want to put in an application as a messenger...

Giving the employer above the benefit of the doubt, the fact remains that a significant number of women whom we interviewed felt that they had been discriminated against, even if they couldn't "prove" it. As another woman put it:

> I think that different companies say, 'We are good, we'll hire women, and it's good that you're coming in,' but at the same time they are taking applications, looking at who you are, and then hiring men anyway.

In some cases, the employer seems to go to enormous lengths to avoid what seems inevitable. They use the proverbial run-around. To get a job driving a truck for a linen company, one woman had to go back to be interviewed twice. She had to make a third appearance to prove she could do the job by unloading a truck full of dirty linen, and her fourth trip was to take an exam which turned out to be a polygraph test. On a fifth visit, arranged for a final determination, the employer was out. She made four phone calls trying to reach him. She finally returned for a sixth time and learned she had the job. Were it not for the persistence that so many of the women we interviewed obviously demonstrate, there would probably be even fewer women in nontraditional jobs today.

Selection for Failure. Placing an unqualified woman in a job is a foolproof method for an employer to accomplish two important aims. At the same time, he is able both to prove his willingness to hire women and clearly document that a woman cannot do the job. One woman explains:

> My husband is a bus driver. His company has been hiring women who don't qualify to be a bus driver, but because of affirmative action they take them. They train them, but even if they're not ready to go out they still send them out. And it's wrong. It just gives them an excuse to say women don't belong in bus driving.

If this is a common practice, it seems a rather cavalier attitude to take toward people's safety merely to make a point about women's qualifications.

Another woman speaks of being fired from her first job after finishing training, and, in addition, her instructor mentioned the incident during our interview with him. There is basic agreement between the two about the significance of what happened. As she says:

> It was a set-up. They gave me work...that no one like me who'd been in school for a year could do. And they knew how shitty this school I went to was, and they gave me things like engine diagnosis, which there was no way someone with my background could have done....They gave me upholstery work; they gave me aligning doors and windows....I considered bringing a suit against them for discrimination, but I decided that if I did do that...it would probably be my fault and I couldn't get another union job and that it wasn't worth it.

She, like many women, wanted to avoid the incredibly difficult process of filing a grievance. She has been so demoralized by the hostile treatment she received that she has begun to doubt her own capabilities. Even worse, she has to bear the brunt of others' irresponsibility and failure. Her school had offered inadequate instruction, and then the employers used her poor training to force her out.

Hiring for failure comes in the form of "hiring for discouragement" also. We spoke to several women who had so many obstacles placed in their path that ultimately the only viable option is to give up and leave without having to be fired. The process is exemplified in the experience of a middle-aged Black woman, who was trying to find an alternative to cannery work. She quit after a week because there were no breaks permitted during work hours, and when she had first been hired she had been informed that the shift she was on was the only one available:

> So two days later a man comes in. He's in the section where you get breaks and lunch, and he's working eight hours and I'm working nine to ten. I didn't like that....They lied to me.

It is the typical situation of women being exploited in a non-union situation (and sometimes even in a union shop, too). They are shunted into the most menial positions, while the men are favored with better paying jobs. When the disparate treatment is blatant and the women realize that they are discriminated against, they almost invariably leave. On the basis of our interviews, there is, however, some reason to believe that more women are beginning to assert themselves and file complaints or take appropriate action against employers for discrimination and other illegal behavior. Obviously the unions have often neglected their duties in assisting these women. The employer, it seems, continues to find new and more effective means to deny women access to jobs.

Physical Strength: Myth or Barrier? It is true, of course, that physical abilities and strengths are both myth and barrier. There are jobs which are too demanding physically for any but an extremely large man. There are also numerous women who cannot perform even the simplest of physical tasks. The problem is complex, and as often as not, physical endowments are used more to obfuscate the problem than to clarify it.

Most of our respondents, however, did not find the requirements for their jobs difficult or unmanageable. This is the case even in those occupations where much has been made of the alleged fact that women cannot physically do the job. When we asked the women if they can handle the physical aspects of their job satisfactorily, they unanimously said that they could:

> I explain to the men about physical strength. Think about your wife moving the refrig to clean--so that's physical strength, you know. They manage to move that. Just think about that. You think about the times she has a bag of groceries and her younger son on her hip at the same time. I can do whatever is necessary. I think it's important because we're starting to live that stuff down.

Most of the women seem to have a fairly good sense of what their physical strengths and weaknesses are and take them into account when selecting an occupation.

While some women have had problems managing, they almost always find ingenious ways to solve whatever difficulties they encounter--or have imposed upon them. A welder, for example, was carrying some heavy cable plus her box and welding gear. One of the men on the job came and helped her. The foreman warned the man not to do that again and told the woman that if she wanted a man's job, then she would have to work like a man. She responded by welding herself a little cart and uses it to cart her equipment. There, fortunately, does not seem to be anything in the rules to interfere with her creative solution.

Other women comment that even in the absence of overt hostility, a woman will not have an easy time. She will repeatedly be required to take the initiative in finding out how to accomplish her objectives. As one woman says:

> A lot of people get screwed over because they can't figure out what to do. I spent half my time figuring out easier ways to do things....This happens all the time to any apprentice.

There are many who would claim that it happens a lot more to women, but the central fact is that, as an apprentice, you are presumably being taught the tricks of the trade. Part of that training is how to handle yourself without getting injured. In the case of most of the women we interviewed, it is a matter of learning it for themselves or not at all. This is either because the instruction is poor, the employer or institution is sloppy in its requirements and policies, or the women have misinformation about how much strength is involved.

In many situations, the women do have a genuine problem with fatigue when they first begin their jobs. They continue to tire rapidly until their bodies become accustomed to the work. Some enroll in physical fitness programs before they start, and some do so once they are on the job. One woman recommends that a program designed to help women get into the trades include a class in how to use your body to do physical work and how to get in shape. Many feel that because of the way women are socialized, they are at a disadvantage in not knowing how to use their bodies for strenuous work. This is analogous to the sex differential in familiarity with tools. There is some indication from our respondents that the old patterns are disappearing, however, and that more and more women are taking better care of their bodies and are eager to use them. It will then take only a minimum amount of time to work up to whatever physical stamina the job requires.

Different jobs, of course, demand various amounts of physical prowess. It is not the purpose of this research to determine the reliability or accuracy of the specific requirements for a given job. It is noteworthy, however, that many of the women we talked to evidence great satisfaction in the changes made to date regarding certain tests being administered. It is their contention that, for the most part, many of the requirements have been artificially maintained and are delighted to see more realistic standards being set. Tests are being redesigned, and more will be reassessed if the pressures for affirmative action continue. Certainly, revalidating the tests would seem easier in the long run than maintaining this arena as a battleground.

At the present time, there is no consensus about the relative physical strengths of men and women or of how strong "strong" is. Some women believe "a woman's body can get just as strong as a man's if she adjusts herself to it." Others say they are convinced "that a man is physically stronger, but that a woman can outlast a man because mentally she can take a lot more." Still others avoid the issue and resolve to work around it: "I explained to my friends that you don't have to be strong, you just have to know what you're doing." The truth probably lies somewhere between and depends on the job, the size, stamina, and overall condition of the individual. The generalizations just do not hold up when it comes down to specific examples. We met women who could match any man at brick-laying, a trade many believe is particularly demanding physically. Other women point to men the same size they are in line for apprenticeships, when they have been told they are too small. The lessons are clear--people come in all shapes and sizes; there will always be a woman who wants a job and can handle it, no matter how strenuous others believe it to be. Current laws governing physical abilities do not go far enough to impose a set of rational standards that preclude bias on the basis of sex.

Women's Attitudes: Strategies for Survival on the Job

The other side of the coin, then, is how women manage to get beyond the hassling they encounter on the job. The tale told by our interviews indicates that it is no small task. The prejudices, stereotypes, and double standards abound, making it difficult even for the most poised personality to cope with the problems and succeed in the job.

Visibility. At this time, the first and foremost problem arises from the women's visibility. Women in nontraditional jobs are in the spotlight--they are singled out: "I went down to the union hall and someone from there took me to my station and said 'here's your female engineer.'" Not an engineer, but a female engineer. Perhaps it is not obvious to the man who says it that this is an unconscious way of pointing out that significant difference. The implications are clear--the women feel: "I have to try harder and do a better job than the average student because I'm noticed."

Often the woman does indeed need to do better. How one performs serves as the basis for a view about all women, and, as a result, they feel an added burden. It is hard enough to be judged on one's own merits, but to know that those who follow will also be judged by that standard is extremely difficult. In one woman's words:

> It is a large responsibility. They're all looking at you, and you're the only one they have to look at. And if you don't do it right, the other women have a poor chance of being successful. That's just the way it is. You have to accept that, so consequently you feel like you're in a glass fishbowl or something the whole time. I'm glad I wasn't the first one.

But what if you are the first, and are trying to do your job while "they stand there watching you and with any small mistake they'll catch it, but they can make as many mistakes in the world." It is not an enviable position, to be watched so closely and to know that you will either be ridiculed, set up as an example, or patronized with too much of the wrong kind of help.

Such a situation can make the woman feel very vulnerable:

> If I was the only one, if I didn't have another woman here, well, maybe...I would have thought I was a real oddity and everything that I did was bad.

The women who do work alone know that "if you aren't around other women,...you start to doubt yourself, your own abilities." From doubt it is just a step to making even more mistakes, or to giving up, unless you have the fierce determination that characterizes many of the women we interviewed.

The role of the woman as example adds enormous pressure:

> It's always in the back of my mind that if I screw up, the men in the department are going to generalize it's because she's a woman type of thing. So it lets down all of us when I screw up....I realize that if I do screw up and get myself hurt or someone else hurt, that's going to reflect on all women.

They start off in a lonely, isolated position--behind the eight ball from the beginning. And even worse, they often think that they must make up for the failings of other women:

> He told me he had a woman in here that gave him a hard time, and after that he didn't want to have any women in the program. And that he was glad I came along and restored his kindliness.

Assuming that added responsibility puts even more pressure on the woman. Yet, if she refuses to do so, the consequences may be the loss of the job or at least continued harassment and skepticism about her abilities.

The Struggle to Succeed. Given the isolation, negative male attitudes (and often those of other women), as well as their own internal conflicts in meeting the new challenges, the women face a constant struggle to succeed on the job. They develop many methods of dealing with the problems they face. The responses run the gamut from female passivity to male aggression, depending on the situation and the woman. Coping often demands a variety of reactions over a period of time from each woman, necessitating that she call on all the resources at her disposal. The experiences reported by the women reflect the extent of their problems. Typical is the woman who goes into the job and gets the usual come-on. At first she tells them to leave her alone:

> I just shined them on, or else. I mean, I came down to a confrontation with one guy one night, and no one bothered me after that. After that I had five good friends that I had met here....After you're there for awhile, you just go, 'Look, I've got an old man, leave me alone. You're not in a kennel, you're in a shipyard, so just keep your animal instincts at home.'...Except that I still got hustled. I just look at them as stupid, ignorant people, you know. They just don't have enough class to keep their own remarks to themselves....It shows just a lack of intelligence....This is the first situation that I ever had come across in putting up with this much. Like I've been whistled at before and I've had cutie remarks and stuff like that, but this is...like I had to stay here...and I couldn't make that many enemies by telling someone to go take a flying leap, which finally it came down to a couple of times, or just if you totally ignore them....At the beginning it was making me so nervous, you know, I would always walk around with my head down, and I don't like walking like that. I would just rather walk around with a nice grin on my face, with my nose half-cocked up in the air, and just go on about my business.

Asked how it finally worked out, she says finally:

> I just got a little more confidence, because it was new to me and it stopped... plus I gained respect from the other guys. I was not there to screw around. I was here to work.

The process for her is typical of many of the women interviewed. They go through a period of harassment which is tantamount to being tested by the men. Until they stand up for themselves and refuse to be intimidated, they are subject to a variety of sexual advances, attempts to put them down, or are simply ignored. It is often difficult for the women to figure out how to handle the situation, and depending upon the strength of their character and personality, they find ways to endure. Some make some friends, ignore the worst offenders, and get on with the job. Others retreat into themselves, avoid everyone, and finally give up the struggle. Occasionally another woman will arrive on the job and ease the pressure. Often there are at least a few men who are friendly and helpful, and, infrequently, a supervisor will want to see a woman succeed and is supportive. No matter what, it is a difficult process. One young woman sums up for us the essence of the problem:

> At first everybody was nice, and then they started coming out with the sex thing and every other word was fuck and they came off with the jokes. I would walk away or give no response at all. At first I took it personally and thought, what are they doing to me. But then I realized I'm in a man's world, this is a man's territory and that's the way a man talks and behaves and I'm just not used to it. So I thought I'm in their territory and I don't have to listen to it.

Faced with a man's world, with all the problems attached to an inherently defensive position, these women do usually manage to find their own way.

Acceptance. Winning acceptance into the world of men is a real dilemma. When an auto mechanic started school, she was the only woman in the class:

> ...and that's when the trouble started. I was by myself, I was the only one, and I got pounced on. I must have been asked out by every guy in that place the first week. I would have people take screwdrivers out of my hand, offer to carry this, carry that. In a traditional sense, they treated me very well. But in terms of what I was there for, I wasn't getting anywhere. I really had this conflict about whether I should tell them to leave me alone and let me work, or let them continue to like me and think I'm this nice young lady. I would go over it in my mind everyday, all the time.

Walking a tightrope is not easy. This woman solved her problem by making friends with one of the men exclusively until the others finally left her alone. It was not until there were other women in the class that she felt she could relax. Other women use a variant of this strategy, and it usually helps, but there are often so many different kinds of problems--as well as different kinds of women--that the strategies adopted are quite diverse.

Proving Oneself. Most of the women decide to demonstrate their ability to do the job. Even the men who end up being friends often start out by being hostile or skeptical of the women's abilities. It is a struggle to gain their friendship and their respect: "Everybody was looking for me to give up and not to do good. It just made me go ahead and decide to be better than them." Often their determination derives from the knowledge that women are hired for failure, and they take steps to ensure their success:

> When I started, I didn't even know a wrench from a screwdriver. I made a list myself and memorized all the parts I had to look for. We had four days of training, but no diagram, no books, no classes. They put in these women who won't be able to do it. I told the woman across from me, women will do this. We can't be in a hole.

They also understand that nothing succeeds like success--that doing a good job does win friends and influence people:

> Everybody in the class loves me for standing up to them and not giving up, and the instructor was just fascinated on how I just stood up to everything. And I got to a point in class where I began to show some of the guys in there.

Several women see that just by doing well, they can win over the men or at least undercut the harassment:

> Men's attitudes changed after awhile--what happened was I started really getting pretty good at it--I was doing better than them. They started leaving me alone. When they started making snide comments about me behind my back, I knew I was doing very, very well.

It is unfortunate to have to prove yourself better than someone just to be minimally accepted, or to have created a tolerable situation for yourself by inspiring envy. The onus is always on the woman. She must do something spectacular where a man would merely have to be competent.

Ignoring What Is Painful. Even when there is no great pressure to be a super achiever, "there's always a lot of shit you have to put up with--just little comments all the time." Most women find it easiest to ignore what is said--"to let it run off my back." The comments are, for the most part, not worth the trouble of a response. In some situations, the woman feels she lacks the option to speak back:

> You have to because...I'm the first woman that's walked a beat so I'm right out there and I get double, triple takes. People go, 'Oh, there's a woman. Isn't she cute. I'd like to be arrested by that blonde,' and you stand there and you've had it after eight hours of listening to it. You feel like grabbing somebody and just shaking them.

When asked what she did, she offered: "I just shine them on, and laugh. What else can you do."

For other women, ignoring the situation is a denial of the true feeling:

> They'll say something, and I don't know if they're playing or not. I usually don't say anything. I don't like my temper--I don't say the right things. I'll say something that's completely out of line then I'll feel like an ass later. If there is someone else around, it helps because I'll go and get it off my chest--I'll even tell...the secretary.

If there is no one to talk to, the sense of isolation is reinforced:

> For a week I was upset about the men. They were hassling me, saying I can't do it. They're not going to keep you there. This is a new experience for me, but I don't care what they say. I eat lunch alone.

How long can she eat lunch alone without feeling even more alone and alienated from the rest of the workers. It is unlikely that she will enjoy her job. She will find herself in the position of relying solely on her own resources, and that may increase the pressure to give up. Often it is difficult to see whether ignoring the situation is a positive or negative decision for the woman. For instance, this young woman tells about the factors that influenced her to ignore the harassment:

> A couple of days ago I was feeling absolutely miserable. I just wanted to leave--I was taking apart this generator and these people were coming around just bothering me, and they said, you don't know how to do it, you can never do that--just making me feel bad, I ignore them.

Whether her response indicates that she can truly let this kind of treatment roll off her back and allow her to walk away unaffected or whether it means that she has no outlet for her anger, her despair and her isolation is still in question. What is certain is that these women are profoundly affected by the hostile atmosphere and attempt to find some way of coping with the problems. If a woman has the ego strength and stamina to resist, she may emerge the stronger for the trial. If she does not, she will join the ranks of women who have dropped out of nontraditional work simply because the isolation was too onorous, and they did not have the resources necessary to deal with the situation. It must be acknowledged that until women are accepted in larger numbers into these jobs and can safely assume they will be welcome, they must have assistance in handling the isolation rather than withdrawing into themselves, unable to reach out for help from whatever quarter.

Let a Smile Be Your Umbrella. Many women realize that one of the most effective weapons at their disposal is a good sense of humor. These are the women who can easily ignore a situation or laugh it off. They recognize that a good joke is another way to make a point without being too heavy-handed:

> Some of them were sitting around having coffee, and one of the guys says, 'Let's have coffee, why don't you get it!' So I said, 'I'll get it. Isn't that why we're here?' So if you can get them first, they'll laugh and go, 'Shoot, I should have said that first.' I tease them at work when I wind up over the sink scrubbing out the meat. 'Well, I guess women's work is never done.' And they tease me about getting dishpan hands and housemaid's knees, but we know I'm doing a man's work and I'm getting a man's pay.

It is also a means of keeping your own equanimity:

> You get some little jokes and I yell out, and call them male chauvinists, and they sort of laugh. They love it when I call them male chauvinists.

The women realize that "you can't take it serious. If you took it serious, you'd be letting it get to you." It is easier to play with people around the petty issues and save one's energy for confronting the larger problems.

Stand Up and Be Counted. Many women do find that the time comes when "any woman who works with a man is going to have to put a man in his place." This requires asserting oneself and convincing the men that they cannot be intimidated. The women who are most successful and comfortable on the job have recognized the need to take a strong stand:

> When the boss wanted me to learn everything at one time...I said no way can I do the work you want. It is too much for me. I can't learn that way. If you don't like my work, I'm sorry. I'll quit. He thought about it and then came back, and said, 'I'm sorry. I made a mistake. Take your time.'

This woman is convinced that her boss learned from the experience because she talked to him in a straightforward manner. "My boss knows that I'm not the type to be quiet like his other workers. If nothing's right to me, I'm not going to work." Other women have taken a similar approach:

> When the guy got a little too hostile...that's when I would probably speak up and say, 'Hey, I'm here to work and I'm getting paid the same amount that you are. We're together to do the same job and please respect me.'

These women select the men whom they believe will be responsive and try to explain their position. They attempt to tell the men how they feel, and also take into account the fact that their presence is something the men must come to accept but undoubtedly will initially resent. These are the women who realize what and who they are, what their capacities are, and what to do about their situation:

> I didn't try to play a man there. There were things that I just couldn't lift, and I wasn't going to prove that I was some Hercules or something, and I never asked them to carry it for me. I said, 'Could you help me carry it?'

This woman knows that she needs help and is willing to ask for it. She has no need to prove that she is a superwoman, but knows how to combat the pressure to act like one. As with another woman we interviewed, she finally has made the statement: "I'm there as another person working, and that's all. I don't expect anyone to do anything for me. I can do whatever is necessary." She likes the work and recognizes that the real issue is getting the job done. This is the task to which she must address her energy.

Working Your Way In. Some women learn from the situation the best method of winning acceptance. During the first few weeks in a pipefitter's class, two women were being hassled by the instructor and by the men in the class. Some of the men stole one of the women's materials and threw them away:

> I really got mad. I told them to all go and f___ themselves. Don't touch me. Don't bother none of my stuff. Next time I catch anybody come near me, they've had it. We had to fight back, we had to start acting like rough and tough men because it was really bad over there for awhile. After that, it was beautiful. We started to talk back to them and talk with them. And to go right up there and say hey, help us. They were shocked, they didn't think we were going to last.

Even though they feel that they have to fight or act tough like the men, the women do come to stand up for themselves and to talk with the men. They also know enough to ask for the help they need, and there is a noticeable change in the men's attitudes. The men are often truly surprised to find the women are equal to the task and begin rethinking some of their assumptions.

However effective the women are in being integrated into a work situation and in achieving the respect of the men, it nonetheless is a torturous process. As another young woman put it:

> You can't get enraged. I would like to say, 'Don't look at that person as an object,' but you can't do that because it happens too much. You can do it just a little bit, and maybe it changes their consciousness just a little bit.

While it is demonstrably clear that all major social change comes slowly, it is equally obvious that the emotional and energy burden is currently being carried almost entirely by the individual woman who enters jobs held predominantly by men. It is she who must prove her right to occupy the position--prove it far more clearly and unequivocally because she is alone:

> I have been in a situation as a security guard alone working a night shift with four other men. And they tried to give me a lot of static. And I just hold my ground. When they try to put me on sitting down duty instead of patrol duty, I say, listen, don't do that. You had your patrol. They want you to break down under all this--all of us are guys here, so the majority rules. You can make them realize that I do mean business and I'm not there to clown around and make a big joke.

It is something like being assumed guilty until you demonstrate your innocence. The tyranny of the majority works effectively to inhibit women's access to these jobs.

Reinforced Patterns: Role Definitions. Many women, of course, are not so effective in asserting themselves under the trying circumstances of nontraditional employment. They fall back on the presumably tried and true victim responses that women are often taught as "the way to handle a man". For some, it is subtle deference or self-conscious manipulation: "It makes them feel important if I ask them, but not too much or else I'm incompetent. There's a fine line."

This woman is concerned, as is so often the case, about how others view her. She is calculating the way to win approval and does so through appeals to men's expertise. Other women have developed a different system: "I compromise....That way I give them their ego back....You have to show them respect if their ego is deflated." Instead of working cooperatively, the illusion of supremacy is maintained. It also means spending too much energy worrying about what is happening with another person. A more passive solution, although one that is manipulative in its way, is to accept what you get and work around it:

> A lot of times you just have to let them tell you how to do it and then when they're gone, do it your way. It makes them feel better and yet you're still doing it the way you want to do it.

For some women, the hassling has this result:

> I just felt weak and I acted weak. It's like I was a temporary and I didn't want to request not to ever work with him...I was just impotent and adding to inner hostilities without really doing anything assertive about the situation.

Women are often in the precarious position of being new on the job and afraid they may be fired if they talk back or attempt to report a person. They frequently say: "The men I had the most trouble with were foremen. They'd come by and talk all that shit you get from people who get a little bit of power." If the woman needs the job badly, it may not be worth it to stand up for herself, particularly if she is on a probationary period or has other fears about the probability of losing her job.

Then, too, some women adopt a passive attitude and act helpless in typically female fashion: "They expected me not to know anything. It was ironic that the more you act like a woman the more you benefit. You get more help. It reinforces the stereotype." The more the men tell them how inadequate they are, the more likely they are to act that way. For one woman, it was so intimidating to be alone on the job, continually told how inadequate she was, that her whole demeanor became cringing. At that point, the helplessness seems to provide an excuse for the worst kind of brute strength confrontation. She was being "kidded" by one of the men about women's place being the home, and to prove how helpless she actually was:

> He just picked me sort of up and put me on the ground....When he did I should have threatened his balls, or something, but...I never felt so impotent in my whole life....Later I was practically in tears at lunchtime and had to stay in the truck where nobody could see me. It was all...part of the group joke, only it wasn't. You'd never have done that to any man, no matter what their size.

This is, for the women, a classic example of rage turned inward to helplessness. And for the men, it is just as familiar a story of the use of physical strength to prove, supposedly, the point that women are the "weaker" sex.

Other women are afraid of affirmative action:

> I hope they don't pick a woman because they need a certain quota or because you're a woman. I want it to be based on the fact that they feel you can do the job, and then you get in there and do the job. I think it will be much better for women that way instead of just putting them in there just because they are a woman. I've seen that happen. It made it bad for the other women who would come in after them.

What she does not seem to understand is that women are often hired to fail, and that putting the burden on the woman to prove that she can do it--and making an example of any woman who cannot prove it--simply perpetuates the attitude that women do not belong in the job in the first place. Some women are so deferential that they are frightened by those who speak up:

> Some women ask questions that were out of line. I can't see joining any organization...specifically to say, hey, I'm a woman and I want a job, because I don't want to stand out anymore than I already do as a woman, and men do not like women who stand up and say, hey, I'm a woman so therefore I deserve this.

These are the women who are inclined to be meek in the job setting and to use their femininity. It also relates to their fundamental insecurity in dealing with the world of work and their right to be a part of it. This is a problem which could be solved by more assertiveness training, earlier and more thorough introduction to the job market, and more education on the rights of women.

In fact, most of the problems that women have entering nontraditional jobs would be remedied significantly by a whole range of support and education services, currently not provided consistently or fully by any agency or training institution.

Women need to be informed that they cannot be denied access to any job for which they can qualify; that they have the right and the ability to seek training for that job so that they can qualify; that there are laws and regulations covering their rights; and that they can seek redress for abridgement of those rights. In addition, they need to have available--with strong encouragement for taking advantage of that availability--a course designed to help them become more assertive and to assist them in coping with the problems they will meet on the job. These support services are invaluable for succeeding on the job.

THE WOMEN AND THE AGENCIES

Introduction

Most of the women we interviewed have had contact with one or more agencies in the course of their search for employment. These run the gamut from private-for-profit employment agencies, government social service agencies (EDD, Civil Service, CETA, Welfare, Rehabilitation), to programs funded for serving a specific target group. How they got to whichever agency or agencies they visited was determined by what they knew about the system, where their friends recommended they go, the effect of agency recruitment, what kinds of help they thought they wanted, the level of their occupational development, and in what sort of position they are interested.

It shall now be our purpose to describe the experiences of the women who sought assistance from the programs and agencies under our purview with the objective of ascertaining the ways in which these institutions can become a significant force in increasing the number of women in nontraditional jobs. Although our focus is on those publicly funded or non-profit programs serving clients, it must be noted that particularly among the women aspiring to nontraditional white collar employment, or those whose goals are undecided, private-for-profit agencies are a common first step in the job search.

The experiences reported seem to indicate that businesses are agents for the status quo; they are locked into the traditional job classifications for men and for women. With but one exception, every woman who had been to one of these agencies told us that regardless of the skills and experience she presented, she was referred to traditional jobs. This statement by a college graduate who was treated as if she had different options than a male client at the same agency is illustrative of the women's experiences with this type of agency:

> I think I went to every agency in this whole entire area. I was always asked, 'What is your typing speed? And do you take shorthand?' I was always asked that. I've got a four-year degree. I said, 'A friend of mine came in here yesterday and you didn't ask him those questions.' I just got really disgusted.

A woman who just graduated from high school asked for any kind of job but clerical--the counselor would not accommodate her preference:

> I went to one of those conventional 'pay through the nose' agencies. She kept pushing me into secretarial work; she thought I was kind of weird that I wasn't interested in it.

The women are very aware of the counselors' need to place them in order to earn a commission and stop using the service when it becomes obvious that the counselor will place them in any available slot independent of whether or not it was the kind of job desired. Clearly, the impetus for change is not coming from this direction. We now turn our discussion to the agencies which should and could be the vehicles for women's expanding career options--publicly funded Employment and Training institutions and those programs designed specifically to serve women.

Exploring Options, Skills, Abilities

Precedent Is Used to Determine the Future. One important barrier to women entering nontraditional employment is the common practice among agencies of slotting clients into occupational categories based on their prior work history and present skills. Thus, almost invariably, the only choices with which women clients are presented are jobs falling into the traditional mold. The insistence on the use of precedent is one of the ways women's options are limited since very few have had significant nontraditional experience. One woman tells what happened to her as a result of her past employment:

> The counselor said, 'Well, let's see, based on past experience, the only thing we can qualify you as is clinic receptionist.' So that means that they put your applications in the file with the other clerical things so you wouldn't even be considered if something else came up. So I was caught in the hospital thing cause that happened to be my first job, and God help you, you'll never get out of it if they can help it.

The woman who is trying to explore alternatives often finds herself working against the agency:

> I went to the unemployment office. They said most of your experience is working in a bank--we're going to classify you 'clerical'. And they expected me to come back saying I had applied for working in offices, but I didn't. I went back telling them I had applied for nontraditional jobs because that's what I wanted. I didn't want what they wanted for me, but they didn't understand.

Traditional Jobs Are a Habit. A woman coming to an agency without a definite career goal will almost surely be directed into a traditional job. An apprentice tells how a counselor was locked into traditional thinking about jobs:

> I have a friend who works for the EDD. She did placement at the time and she was busily trying to get me female jobs. I was sitting there one day while she was talking to this guy about some kind of apprenticeship. I said, 'Listen, I can do that.' So she sent me to an apprenticeship outreach program. She said she just didn't think of it; it had just not occurred to her. Since then she got to reading her job descriptions, and she's really gotten heavy into helping women get into jobs that were male type.

This story has a much happier ending than most. Other women who do not want clerical jobs but do not know what they do want, talk about their frustration at being channeled:

> Urban League, CETA, EDD--I've gone to all of them. I don't want to be a secretary. I don't like typing. I don't like being confined. Yet, every job they send me out to is that type of thing. I'm sick of it.

And another:

> They kept trying to categorize me into a secretary, waitress, bookkeeper position. They say, 'Look there on the boards.' All they had was secretarial work.

Similarly, unskilled women who seek some form of training are referred to classes teaching traditionally female skills. The agency's acceptance of the stereotype can be seen in such instances as the one in which a job seeker comes in and is told by two male counselors on two separate occasions that she does not have adequate skills to get a job and should take a course--they sign her up for keypunch. Although she was not very interested, she attended the class, soon dropped out, and is job hunting again. No attempt was ever made to identify her career objectives, nor was mention made of training available for a skill other than clerical.

It is not only the agencies which think in terms of traditional jobs and training; women also have been conditioned to do so. They drift into what seem to be appropriate choices. One woman who graduated from college with a Bachelor's Degree in Political Science told us: "I just figured I know how to type, I'll just get a secretarial job. I didn't even look for another kind of job." She was dissatisfied with that occupation and after six months applied to graduate school. She added: "Now at that time, if I had known enough to look for another job, or another field, maybe I never would have gone back to school. I didn't know what else to do." One very talented woman who loved making stained glass windows and pottery saw the most traditional of occupations--being a receptionist--as her job option; she had very little knowledge about other kinds of jobs.

Women Need to Know There Are Options. The agency's predilection to automatically channel women into stereotypical jobs and training is a disservice. It perpetuates the notion that there are women's jobs and men's jobs; it contributes to the underutilization of women in the workforce, and it prevents women from making an informed choice. If one has to choose from a limited range of vocational possibilities presented, it is not a meaningful choice. An apprentice who is doing very well in her job explained:

> When you're able to choose, your whole trip is going to be different. That's why we need to be aware of what's happening, so we can make choices. If you've made the choice, you're going to be an asset to a company.

Whether a woman comes to an agency asking about alternatives to traditional jobs or not, it is the agency's obligation to present to the job seeker the full range of options open to her. Any woman who is looking for a job deserves to be knowledgeable in order to make a rational decision. If we are ever to counter the underrepresentation of women in nontraditional employment, a deconditioning and educational process must be initiated. The agency's role is to introduce alternatives to typical career decision making, but this is currently happening only infrequently. There are too many women who have gone from agency to agency and feel that not one counselor has tried to pursue with them the possibility of learning a new skill, despite their acknowledged disinterest in being receptionists or file clerks. The next sections will explore methods by which agencies can help women see that they have new options.

Outreach to Inform Can Be a Stimulus. There are great numbers of women who have never considered nontraditional employment but conceivably would if they viewed it as a viable possibility. A program which has as its goals educating women as to the range of options, and which has the capability to follow through on the response, could do much to increase women's representation in what are traditionally male jobs. We have seen agency recruitment act as the stimulus for a woman to choose a nontraditional job. One respondent, for instance, had not explored the alternatives until she heard a talk by a spokesperson from an agency which conducts outreach for apprenticeships in a minority community. She compared the starting salary of an apprentice to the income she could earn as a medical transcriber, the vocation for which she was in training at the time, and simultaneously realized that she had skills which could qualify her for nontraditional employment. She visited the agency to find out more and is now working as an operating engineer apprentice. The critical variables, in addition to her personal characteristics and qualifications, are the outreach efforts and the assistance she received at the agency.

If an agency is not prepared to help the women whom they recruit, the process becomes an exercise in futility. One example of a recruitment effort being undermined occurred when an agency did outreach for union construction jobs. The advertisement said, "women encouraged to apply", and it brought a tremendous response--large numbers of women were interested. Then, oddly, our respondents who went to be interviewed felt that they were not taken seriously. They suspected that the interviewer was trying to deliberately discourage them, and the agency's sincerity became questionable. The interviews were short and very little was asked about the women's qualifications--something they had difficulty understanding. These women had been looking for new career opportunities, and their imaginations had been engaged by the advertisement. They all said that the agency representative gave them almost no information on the job category that was open, and that he mentioned no other possibilities. He presented a very negative picture with no positive side.

> He explained that there was a fly in the buttermilk, a really good one, a couple of them, the first one being that although the card had said in very big letters, 'women are encouraged to apply', there was some kind of something or other with the unions where now they weren't sure whether they would really hire women after all. And that just sounded really familiar, that sounds like a lot of stuff I've heard before. And he said that if they did hire women it would probably be at a ratio of one to five. So then I asked how many places are you interviewing and he told me they were interviewing in all the junior colleges and the OICW's, and I thought, Oh! That makes my chances next to zero. He was pretty discouraging now that I think about it--They don't do much hiring, they don't do much work in the winter, there probably wouldn't be any work available, even for those on the list, until springtime. Lastly, he announced that this interview really didn't count for much anyway because I still had to go down to the union and apply all over again. So, I had to take classes, I had to take the test, I had to fill out another application, and then I might get the privilege of going on a list to wait until they might hire me and they might not. So I decided I probably would not become a blue collar worker at that time.

One woman went so far as to go to the union hall to register. There, she found hundreds of men and a very few women. No one had prepared her for the encounter or offered support, and she felt unequal to the task. In contrast, there is the experience of one woman who is now an apprentice. She was the client of a woman's agency and had attended preparatory workshops during which instructions were given on how to fill out the union's applications and discussions were held on what to expect at the sign-up:

> When I went down to the union hall, I got there and there were my supporters--my counselor and some other women from the program--making sure everything was all right; I did much better with them there.

Provision was made so this woman did not feel alone or lost. Her friends were there so that she was not the only woman, and they knew the procedure and could help her get through smoothly. Others we interviewed never went beyond the initial interview. When questioned, they postulated that if someone had talked with them, offered some encouragement and further explored their initial interest, they would have stayed with the process. They were interested in finding out about other trades and in seeing if their capabilities matched the requirements.

The dearth of significant information, coupled with interviews accenting the negative, do not allow a candidate the opportunity to make an informed choice. Here are women with an expressed interest in nontraditional employment who are lost to the trades because the agency staff, in a position to foster that interest, killed it instead. It is during the exploration of skills, abilities and options that women begin to realize what their potentials and preferences are. Thus, a recruiter who does not undertake that exploration is not doing the job that needs to be done.

Specialized Counseling Is an Effective Tool. Counseling which could result in more women choosing to seek nontraditional occupations must include the process of considering the client's interests and abilities relevant for such a pursuit. The women we interviewed have in common the need for a detailed description of the types of jobs and training that exist and for counseling on how their skills and capabilities are applicable. As women are helped to discover that the skills they use everyday can be job related, a whole spectrum of possibilities opens up. The agencies are now falling short of what is needed. Career counseling is noticeable by its absence; most of the women interviewed have had none at all. Adequate information upon which to base career decisions is not available.

Encouragement is an essential element of desirable counseling. The insight of one woman we interviewed underscores this point:

> Some women you have to guide into a certain field; they won't wander off into things like I did. You have to talk to them and get them looking at the job as something different and useful. Someone would have to start on a mental trip first. You would have to explain, let them know how you feel, see how exciting it is. It's mostly inside feelings and encouragement from a person who has understanding, more than just saying well, hey, come on into plastering.

The climate in our society is such that women are increasingly ready to broaden their horizons. Not one of the women we spoke with stated unequivocally that she would not consider a nontraditional job. Several times, during the course of an interview, we saw a woman begin to change her thinking--an occurrence which speaks to our conviction that agencies are obliged to conduct such explorations with their clients. Here is an example which illustrates the point: A recently divorced college graduate talked about her job search, and in twenty minutes discovered a possible career choice that delighted her. In the first fifteen minutes she sounded depressed; her tone was flat and barely audible as she told of her disappointment at not learning anything new from interest tests she took at an agency; of the job market in clinical psychology (the only thing in which she was remotely interested) being hopelessly flooded; and of being resigned to taking some "crummy job just to get by." When asked if there were some other areas she might have considered, she answered, "No, not particularly." Then look what happened:

> Now that I'm divorced I had to learn all about plumbing and how all that works, and carpentry. I've had to do a lot of things that I would have just had him do. Q: Would any of those things interest you in doing as a job? A: I think I could probably get into carpentry because I love wood. Q: Cabinet work? A: Yeah; and I'm painting my house. There's not much that I don't do. I'm not afraid to try to do things that are hard physically....Oh! That's one thing I'd like to do--gardening. I just sort of thought about that recently--my yard had been let go and I started working on the yard, then I had a garden growing and planted some seeds and stuff that I had never done before. I've been thinking about what do I do when I have time--work in my yard, take care of my plants, and really enjoy it. Maybe that's something to do. There's a lot to learn in that field, but I would love to work in that situation and learn it.

The agencies' automatic channeling of women into what are considered to be appropriate jobs and training arises out of the concept of sex-typed jobs. There is, however, another crucial impetus for such a practice--the stipulations with which funding is granted. Agencies have a specific mandate to place clients in jobs or training. One barrier to counselors presenting nontraditional employment as an option, therefore, is the recognition of how difficult it is to make those placements. Furthermore, agencies are not funded to provide the counseling and offer the support that most women need if they attempt to confront societal notions of acceptable aspirations. It is critical to remember that changes which we envision at the agency level must be initiated at the funding level. Monies need to be allocated for counseling, and agency staff must be properly trained.

Role Models Improve Awareness of Options. When a woman is cognizant of the fact that others of her sex are engaged in a variety of occupations, she begins to envision a wider range of choices for herself. It is important that she be able to identify with the type of woman seen doing the work, and exposure to role models can be extremely helpful. Agencies can take the initiative by using women who are currently in nontraditional jobs as a resource and by providing brochures and other materials which are illustrative. An apprentice who would like to see more women follow the direction she has taken says:

> We have to overcome that stereotype about a certain group of women getting into nontraditional jobs. They need to be exposed to more women who are into that. Films and that kind of thing--seeing women on their way to work and when they get there. Women need to see just regular women who are out there like anyone else, doing their jobs.

Using Agencies to Reinforce the Decision to Seek Nontraditional Employment

Women Who Want Nontraditional Jobs Can Be Discouraged by Agencies. When a woman comes to an agency with an expressed interest in nontraditional employment, the staff will often proceed to discourage her. They, too, have been socialized in a society in which sex-role stereotyping is pervasive, and thus their response to women clients is largely a function of the myths and prejudices they themselves have internalized.

Failure to provide clients with relevant materials can also serve to discourage women from exploring new directions. When women come to an agency to find out about nontraditional employment, especially blue collar work and apprenticeships, it has been a major project for them to glean even very basic information. Whether they approach a government agency or a special program, they invariably come away learning very little about the kinds of work or training available, the process of getting into a trade or apprenticeship, or what the job titles mean. Very few counselors assist the woman to determine which nontraditional occupation would best suit her needs, skills, and capabilities. A client tells about the frustration she encountered at an agency founded to help minority men enter construction trades:

> The man there said the best thing for me would be cabinet making, but the trouble is he doesn't have any information about making cabinets, so he couldn't help me along that line. He said, 'How about sprinkler fitting'? And I said, 'I don't exactly know what it's about,' and it didn't seem like he did either.

Counselors also tend to overwhelm women with the negative possibilities associated with their choice. Some fervently justify this approach by stressing the need to present a "realistic" picture to women of what it is they would be tackling. This seems to translate into a recital of all the drawbacks and difficulties of pursuing nontraditional employment without concurrently enumerating the good points. Certainly, women must recognize the potential problems in order to evaluate their motivation within a meaningful context. Whereas such discussions are an integral part of the exploratory process, the object should be to arrive at a balanced assessment. Counselors who fail to point out the earning potential and the enjoyable aspects of nontraditional work do women a disservice.

Each obstacle to a woman's choice of a nontraditional job reinforces other barriers. Thus, if a woman whose family has not been taking her goals seriously and has been trying to influence her to change them is in turn discouraged by an agency counselor, she is likely to be dissuaded. The agency must be a source of support and encouragement as a woman begins confronting sex-typing in jobs; otherwise, the barriers will win out in many cases.

Needs of Women Seeking Nontraditional Jobs: An Orientation to the Agency. Agencies must accept the responsibility for meeting the needs of women who seek to enter nontraditional jobs. What those needs are and suggested ways of meeting them are presented as a starting point toward improved services. We speak now of the needs of women in general; the agencies also will have to consider the specific needs of the target communities they serve.

To begin, it is apparent from our inquiry that most women do not know how to use an agency. This is unfamiliar territory for them, so unfamiliar that they do not know the questions to pose in order to gain information about what the agency can do for them. In many cases, the extent of their knowledge is merely that the agency's purpose is to get jobs for people--they know nothing about counseling and self-help workshops. We have been told by women that, when on their first visit to an agency, they filled out a form for the receptionist, they thought they had registered and would be called if a job came along. Unless the receptionist or another staff person explains that the form is for record keeping and reporting purposes for the agency, the client may leave under the illusion that she has done what she could to help herself when, in fact, she has done virtually nothing. At the outset, the agency must give the woman an understanding of how it operates. Only if she knows what to expect, will she be in a position to fully utilize the existing services.

Informed Referrals. Substantive referrals to other agencies and programs are seldom made; the primary explanation is that programs do not have the necessary information about the existence of other agencies and what they do. Other explanations may be a competitiveness or negative attitude among agencies, and negligence on the part of individual counselors. The women are not even able to take advantage of available resources to help them enter nontraditional employment because it is so difficult to discover what exists. Such information must be made accessible to agency personnel, who in turn become knowledgeable and thus better able to serve their clients. Two women's testimony to the need for a system of referrals underscores this point:

> The personnel had no idea of where to direct me. They gave me two phone numbers, and no one really had any idea of what they were.

and

> I wanted to learn a trade. I went to Manpower and I went to CETA, and neither one of them turned me on to an agency that could help me. Finally someone at EDD said, 'Oh, is that what you're looking for,' and told me about a program which was mandated to assist women to get into apprenticeships.

Before a woman is referred to a job, she may require some special pre-vocational training in order to be qualified. Here is an example of a good referral in which the client is informed of the necessary steps for getting into an apprenticeship and given information on how and where to prepare:

> I came to the agency wanting to get into an apprenticeship, maybe electronics. The counselor said there aren't any apprenticeships open right now, and most apprenticeships want you to have some background to indicate that you're really interested in it. The Skills Center has a program in machine repair that might give you some related background that you could point to and try to get into an apprenticeship program.

Prior conditioning often serves girls and women badly with the result that they have not developed certain basics which boys and men are taught or learn almost automatically. Rudimentary knowledge for blue collar trades would include familiarity with tools and how to use them, how to use one's body to lift heavy objects, terminology, and how to solve mathematical problems. Often a short introductory course or tutoring program is credited with making the difference for a woman when she talks about how she qualified. Another important capability is physical preparedness. A physical training program and a place where there is equipment with which to practice are requested by many women we interviewed. Several who took an agility class before applying for police work say that they would never have made it without the class. The amount and type of pre-vocational training needed varies with each situation. What is important is that agency staff be able to make such evaluations and either refer clients to a class provided by their agency or to another source.

For several reasons, it is important that women candidates for nontraditional employment be equipped with requisite skills and capabilities: 1) Employers must not be given the opportunity to hire an unqualified woman so as to justify their subsequent refusal to accept others; rather, they need to be shown that women are able to do the job. 2) Women need to feel confident when they are presenting themselves and are incapable of doing this if they are not comfortable with their abilities. Recognition of that need is expressed well by a woman who has done secretarial work and owned a boutique and is very motivated to learn a trade. She has had a few interviews with unions and employers and is not yet feeling ready:

> I'd like to have some skills before I go back out there and pit myself against these employers. I would feel much more confident saying, 'hey, I just came through a course' just to have something behind me to say, 'you don't have to completely train me, I can do some things too.' That would be a thing in my favor.

3) For now, the reality is that a woman has to be more qualified than a man seeking the same position or she does not have much chance to be chosen. 4) A woman has a better chance for a positive experience on the job if she does not have to depend on what may be insufficient or nonexistent instruction from the men.

We stress the importance of selective referrals in which the woman's interest in and readiness for a particular job are explored first. The common practice of sending someone out on any and every job that comes along on the chance that it might turn out to be the right thing is one to be eliminated; it causes the women to lose their confidence and their motivation--they wonder what is wrong with them that they are not being hired.

Women need agency counselors to make careful referrals; this means that they do the following: 1) Call the employer to see if the position is still open--being sent to apply for a nonexistent job is more disheartening. 2) Make an appointment for the client. 3) Find out what qualifications are needed and specifics about the job. One reason for this is demonstrated by the case in which a counselor has taken a woman to a job site. When they arrive, she discovers that he does not even know which job she is to apply for, and that it is beyond her physical capabilities. This is obviously an unnecessarily awkward situation for both of them. Another reason is that unrealistic and irrelevant requirements are often used to discourage a woman on an interview and lead her to disqualify herself. She needs to be told beforehand what the requisite qualifications of a particular job are--what a person on that job does alone and what is done with a partner or a machine. 4) Familiarize the client with what to expect when she goes to apply. She needs to know what her rights are and how best to relate to the employer. A forum for dealing with some of the issues that might arise has made a real difference; one apprentice speaks for many of the women when she talks about being prepared:

> The men at the union gave you disgusted looks. When you went to fill out a form and if you asked a question, you were really in for some hassling. They (the staff of a women's agency) were good in that they got us prepared. They always briefed us on how to fill out the application, so we really didn't have to ask any questions.

For another woman, the opportunity to role play the interview made a difference: "That mock interview helped me more than anything."

Much of the information we are recommending be given the women--specifics of the job, application procedure, employer's attitudes--must be offered as a matter of policy. Many women have had so little experience in dealing with the world of work and agencies and programs that they do not know what questions to pose, or hold back out of a fear that their questions will reflect badly upon them.

Information for the Job Search. The women in our study deplored the lack of resources available to them for obtaining good pragmatic information about jobs. They want to know such things as:

1. Current job openings. Job boards which contain a wide variety of positions, described in detail, are one way to make such positions known.

2. Where to look. Counselors should have at hand lists of prospective employers which include name, address, type of business, hiring procedures, attitudes toward women. One respondent wished that agency staff would "go around to potential job sites--to the utilities, the construction companies and others in the area--to find out who is open to hiring women in the first place. A lot of them wouldn't even consider it." Ideally, the job developer would be working with employers full time so that the list of those hiring women would be constantly growing.

3. Necessary steps. Given that many women have not been exposed to the process of getting into a trade, information on the various steps one must take, especially for an apprenticeship, is critical. The apprenticeship system is complicated and involves very specific requirements at many levels. How to prepare for and go through each step is specialized information which the agency can have for their women clients, who may be hearing about it for the first time.

4. Advance notification when jobs are opening up. This has particular relevance to the trades because in many cases applications are only accepted for short and infrequent periods of time. We often heard the women's regrettable accounts of learning about job opportunities days or weeks after the application deadline.

5. How to conduct a job search. The women do not expect the agency to do everything for them; what they require are the tools with which to conduct their own job search. They want to know, therefore, how to use the items listed above, i.e. how to research a job listing that interests them, determine if they are qualified, write a resume, obtain an interview, fill out an application, present themselves to an employer, follow through after an interview. Workshops can be designed to effectively convey these techniques. Approaching the search with an air of self-assuredness is central to success. Offering assertiveness training as part of the job search workshop helps to change the passive and humble demeanor

which so many women have been taught to exhibit, and to build their confidence to deal with employers, and later with co-workers.

Imparting this sort of quality information takes time and requires that counselors be knowledgeable. Probably as a result of current constraints (counseling time has to be spent making placements in order to justify funding; the budget does not allow for adequate staff), the counselors appear to many women to be too busy to give them anything but the most cursory information and/or are uninformed themselves. In-service training for agency staff would be one of our recommendations for insuring the communication of vital information to clients. One woman suggested she would have been helped to enter the trade she chose if she could have been put in touch with someone "who knows the field, knows what you're up against, knows other people in the trade--a liaison between me and the skill I'm looking to get into." A list of resource people for referrals will fill a need and take some pressure off agency staff.

Advocacy with Employers. Simply referring a woman to an available job is not enough. It seems fairly clear from our interviews that deeply entrenched ideas about which sex can do what jobs still prevail. If a woman and a man are competing for a nontraditional job, the man will be hired unless there is some special effort being made to promote women. Without knowledge of the facts surrounding women and work today--those reasons women work which we presented above--employers are wrongly assuming that men need jobs much more than women do and thus deserve to be the first hired. They continue to maintain that women are not serious about pursuing careers; that women cannot do physical work; and that all the prevalent myths are truths. Employers insist that women will be a disruptive influence on the men, not even considering how ridiculous it is to make the women responsible for how men act. Someone has to show them how misguided their rationale is--the agencies could and should be mandated to take on that task.

A woman who has been trained in auto body repair and has been looking for a job for almost a year outlined what she sees as necessary steps to improve job opportunities:

> You need people out there who all the time those women are in school take the women down, and they take the men down and show them what the women are doing. There has to be some kind of joint thing there with helping people get jobs and talking to the shop owners, because most of them won't come down, they won't see a woman work, they just automatically shut their minds off to any kind of hiring women. So you've got to get the men involved somehow, the men who own shops, and show them women can do the job, because they absolutely don't have any idea that women can do the job; they are so damn sure that women can't do the job, so they really need to be shown.

The women want the agency to act as an intermediary, putting pressure on the employer, and setting up interviews for them that they could not arrange on their own:

> We need people like D. (counselor at an agency designed to help women get nontraditional blue collar jobs) who have the courage to go in there and talk to these shop owners and tell them, 'OK, women can do this and women can do that.' She'll fight for you. She'll talk to the employer and try to get him to realize that there are laws and that women can do the jobs.

One woman feels optimistic because a counselor is going to go with her to talk to employers--"He's in a position to sort of mediate for me; he deals with this all the time." The agency can come to the employer from a position of power and credibility far beyond that which an individual job applicant possesses. Agency staff who are well-versed in affirmative action legislation and experienced in fielding rhetoric can influence employer attitudes and practices. The establishment of generously funded and creatively conceived job development components is critical.

Emotional Support and Follow-Up. The women who are trying to get nontraditional jobs require support, and it is imperative that this need be recognized. They are going through struggle and pain; they have to fight constantly for what they want; they face obstacles at every turn. Choosing nontraditional employment often represents a major change in a woman's life, and counselors must realize that there are pressures from the outside and doubts on the part of the woman herself. Women who are looking for a job, and those who have begun working at nontraditional jobs, need to be reaffirmed in order to withstand the countless rejections and hostile acts. Just hearing someone say, "You can do it" when she has heard, "You can't do it" over and over, can enable a woman to persevere. Some of the women who change their minds about pursuing a trade indicate they would have continued had they gotten some encouragement on a personal level.

The agency could serve as a supportive environment offering encouragement to counteract the discouragement coming from other sources (employers, friends, family). This will require sensitive and aware counselors who understand how important their back-up can be. An apprentice who got her job through a woman's agency after persevering for a year said the encouragement she got from the counselors was a crucial factor in enabling her to go through the long, intensive and often discouraging job search.

> They would never really let me rest. They would always keep communicating.... Sometimes I would start feeling unsure of myself, but they were always there encouraging me--they kept saying I could do it....They called me on the days when there were interviews, and those calls made the difference between staying home and going 'out there' once again.

A service representative who repairs postal machines tells about the boost in self-confidence she got from a woman's agency. In her case, she needed to be influenced to believe she had a right to the kind of job she wanted:

> If it weren't for the agency, I'd probably be working in a gas station....I felt that what they did was to point out to people that you, in fact, had a right to get that job, that you were entitled to a higher paying job, and I think that's really important because I really didn't feel that way. I felt kind of like a victim. I just needed a job. It's really hard to keep your self-respect up when you're unemployed, and you're having to ask other people to help you out all the time. It's hard to keep your self-respect up and really think that you're entitled to anything. And you have to have that kind of an attitude to get a job. I mean, you can't look that helpless. Nobody wants a helpless employee.

The most successful agency assistance, in addition to a sympathetic counselor, seems to be workshops designed basically to give support through informal sharing of job hunting experiences. These are often combined with some job search education. Having a place to come back to--to talk about what they are experiencing, to hear what others are doing, to receive reinforcement and encouragement, to gain feedback on the way they are acting and reacting to the hassles--this provides the push to go out again. Many of the women who talk about the help these workshops have been to them are quite desperate for a job and have been looking for work for a long time. On interviews or on jobs, they are dealing with men almost exclusively and feel a strong need to talk to other women about those problems which are unique to pioneers.

It also helps to talk with women who have gone through the struggles and have been working for some time. They provide a necessary perspective and are good role models. The agency can be a meeting place and a resource for getting people together.

Another important function of the agency, from the women's point of view, is follow-up. The women whom the agencies have served are pleased to talk to us. They see it as a significant effort to get direct feedback from those who are "out there", and suggest that agencies do follow-up to find out how people are doing and to get some ideas on what services they need/don't need. "I've been in CETA two years--you're the first one to ask me how the program could be better."

Other Support Services. Mention should be made of the need for support services in the form of financial assistance and child care. The lack of money for transportation and inadequacy of child care are two barriers to women's looking for work and getting to pre-vocational or tutoring classes. There are large numbers--many more than in the past--of single women with children, and they want and need to work. The agency could relieve some of the burden by having funds designated for those who lack sufficient money to conduct a job search.

Another worthwhile concern agencies might address is the possibility of interim jobs for women who are waiting out the long months until an apprenticeship is available. Getting into an apprenticeship can take from a few months to several years. There has to be some money coming in during that time; women who have been able to hang on have had jobs and/or food and shelter provided by friends and family.

Agencies need to be sensitive to the financial straits of unemployed women and to be able to offer some assistance. Several women commented on agency helpfulness regarding money; some expressed gratitude that the service was available without fee; another had been driven by her counselor to an interview because she could not get there on her own.

Special Type of Agency and Counselor. The best help seems to come from agencies which have a sympathetic counselor--usually a woman, and from those devoted exclusively to serving women. The critical variables appear to be a commitment to facilitating women's entrance into nontraditional employment, and understanding of the attendant problems therein, and the ability to turn that commitment and understanding into effective programs. The agencies designed specifically for women are more likely to exhibit these qualities, not only because of the staff but because they afford the opportunity of meeting other women who are looking for jobs and of sharing information and experiences with them. Still, the essence of the agency is really the individual staff person with whom the client has contact, and the women have much to say on this issue.

The importance of a competent, well-trained and sensitive receptionist is profoundly substantiated by our interviews. That person can make the difference between a pleasant, rewarding experience and a negative one. One client speaks to the significance of an experience with the receptionist at a woman's agency:

> The lady that they had there as receptionist was extremely friendly, very thorough-going and very guiding, to the point that if you didn't know what you wanted, she would sort of question you and ask what you wanted. So that that would sort of make you feel welcome, plus it helped you to think, and it really helped to guide you in the right way, in the right direction.

In contrast, we heard a receptionist from one agency, which primarily helps minority men enter the construction trades, say that she could not in good conscience encourage a woman to consider a trade given her own feelings about such work. In some agencies it is the receptionist who refers the client to one component or another. Thus, whether or not a woman is directed into traditional or nontraditional can be determined at that particular moment, depending upon options presented by the receptionist.

Many prefer a female counselor: "Women staff members at an agency are going to be more sympathetic and understanding; they understand our position as women." Of those who wanted to get into a trade, a few said they preferred a man, assuming men know more about blue collar work and have more contacts. Overall, the qualities of the individual counselor are what matter most. Those include:

1) A willingness to explore their interests. As one woman put it:

> The counselors should be, in essence, what their name stands for, counselors. They should really, really try to find out what you want to do....They just try to rush you through....If I had an agency, I would try to have counselors who would quiz the applicants more than they do. You just fill out a little piece of paper with your name and address on it, what your degrees are, but it really doesn't say what you really like to do, what your long-range goals are, and if you don't have any, why don't you?

2) Ability to give sound advice regarding possible careers.

3) Support for interest in nontraditional employment.

4) Awareness of and sympathy for the problems women face.

5) Ability to take their needs seriously (the antithesis is the counselor who thinks women's liberation is a joke).

6) Encouragement

7) Knowledge of what each client wants, and willingness to call her when he/she learns about jobs that might be of interest. One woman found strength in her counselor's efforts:

> What really made me stick with that was the fact that they seemed to be trying so hard to get me a job. I said, 'If they're trying that hard, well, let me give them the effort, too.'

8) Particularly for the trades: someone who had been in the trades and/or is knowledgeable about the blue collar world, i.e. well-informed on the jobs and the process.

9) Accessibility

10) Continuous interest over an extended period of time. Two women spoke beautifully to that need:

> I'd like to go someplace where they would say, 'We're going to stick with you until you get where you have to go, where you are employed and self-supporting.' Too many programs start you out with your foot in the door, and then one year later you haven't gone anywhere.

and

> You've got to get women out there to staff the agencies who are really interested. I've met some really beautiful women who were. Everyone on a temporary thing. By the time they're really doing some good, they pull them off. Like you, what you're doing is really going to help women, but you're on it for only a year. It's dangling. It's like a parachute. If it opens only so far, what are we going to do the rest of the way--just fall.

The following case is illustrative of the need for counselors who are trained and competent to deal with the special problems associated with facilitating a woman's entrance into nontraditional employment. A college graduate in art who has decided she wants to go into printing is not getting the help she needs from a counselor at an agency:

> He has been the mediator for me, and the feedback I get from him is they don't want any women, and the thing is too difficult. Some man he knew in one of the printing companies said it was too physical for women. I told him he should tell the man to let me decide.

He has been sending her out on random job leads, although she has been clear about what she wants. This woman needs to be given the opportunity to pursue her goal--as she is highly motivated and obviously competent. The counselor is not encouraging her, not advocating for her with employers, not informed about ways to break into the printing trade, and not making constructive referrals.

In concluding this discussion of the use of agencies to get nontraditional jobs, it must be noted that not all women will need all services. What is required is a comprehensive program which offers a woman a full range of assistance including information on occupations, encouragement to stay with her inclination toward nontraditional employment, assessment of her skills and abilities, facilitation to obtain necessary qualifications, help in actually finding a job, support during the search, and follow-up after placement.

TRADE SCHOOLS

Finding Out About Nontraditional Training Is an Arduous Task

As soon as a woman decides she wants to go to school to learn a nontraditional skill and begins to try to gather needed information, she meets with frustration. There are many who do not know exactly what occupation best suits their interests and abilities, and thus seek general information on employment possibilities. This sort of help is almost never offered. Then, there is the need to learn about the range of courses available; there is no place--whether in EDD offices, federal programs, or CETA--that comprehensive data may be obtained about the programs that exist. If, for example, a woman goes to the CETA job services office for a training program, she is not told that she can apply elsewhere--such as to adult schools, junior college, or the skills center--for the same program or one similar to it. The possibilities for financial assistance are not routinely explained; only if a woman asks about it is she told. Such negligence may result in hardship, as in the case of one respondent who had to borrow money to pay a large tuition when she actually was qualified to receive a stipend. No one had ever told her that such help existed. Some women may be so hard pressed that they abandon the pursuit entirely. There must be a concerted effort to assure that women can easily obtain an explanation of the process for securing training.

Most of the women we interviewed discover a program only through incredible persistence. Many described experiences analogous to the one that follows:

> A friend mentioned the word CETA and that they train women in different fields. I was anxious to find out about it. I called the unemployment office and they referred me to Mr. P. at the skills center. It took three days to get through to him, and he said, 'Well, I help men' and gave me another agency to call. I asked them if it was CETA and he said, 'We have nothing to do with CETA'--I almost lost it right there except that I was so insistent, so I continued to question him and found out it is funded by CETA.

One woman called the EDD, Vocational Rehabilitation, and similar places about an auto mechanics course in which a friend was enrolled:

> At first people told me that there was no program even. I said, 'Of course it exists, I know someone in it.'

The Intake Process Does Not Serve Women Well

Admission to trade schools varies depending upon whether or not the applicant qualifies for CETA monies. Ordinarily, the school does non-CETA students, and CETA intake is done by an agency first, and then the training institution conducts a second screening. It is the latter process that is the most difficult. It is long, often confusing, and reflects little coordination between the institution and the agency. The women who have gone through two screening ordeals talk about how long it took to go through all the steps and the numbers of people who questioned them. They all strongly recommend simplifying the procedure.

We must point out that seldom, if ever, did the intake process at the agency or at the training institution include the following critical areas of discussion: descriptions of classes, exploration of what field might be most suitable, explanations of what a particular course consists of, what the prerequisites are, and what the student will be capable of upon completion. As a result, ill-advised enrollments such as this occur:

> I don't feel that I'm in the right course. I chose engine overhaul but the class had closed two days before. And they said, 'but you can take the tune-up.' What they didn't tell me was the course was designed for a person who already knew an engine.

Either the intake agency or the training institution must be responsible for carefully exploring with a woman her needs, talents and interests and how they can best be developed.

Women who want to apply for a specific program are often given the runaround. A revealing example may be seen in the story of a woman who wanted a nontraditional skill and thought she might like to get into the CETA program to learn welding. She went to the skills center to observe the class so as to have some concrete basis upon which to make her decision. She was told that she could not look until she was in the program, and they sent her back to the CETA office (EDD) where she was told nothing could be done. She was discouraged further by non-cooperation among agencies, which is frequently noted. In this case, the prime sponsor jobs office and a CETA subcontractor she was working with concurrently became embroiled in an argument over which one would get credit for her placement. The intake process was thereby delayed for months while efforts were made to resolve the question. The woman became so demoralized that she ultimately decided to abandon her quest.

There is usually a long waiting period between the submission of an application and acceptance to a class; the waiting lists are long. This is another source of discouragement to add to the rest. Interviewers also often tend to undermine confidence and try to discourage a woman from applying. An auto body repairperson tells about a friend of hers who went to the intake agency to get into the auto body and fender repair program:

> They told her first that they didn't take women in the program, and she happened to know someone who knew me so she said, 'I know there's a woman in there already.' Then they told her she was too old--she was twenty-seven or twenty-eight at the time and they told her she was too old. She just wouldn't give up, so finally she got in.

Another, unfortunately typical, case involves a woman being overtly discouraged and subsequently ignored by a CETA counselor at an intake office:

> She didn't much think it was a good idea for me to go into body and fender. She thought that women's issues were popular this year, but they may not be next year...and a lot of women, they start the program and they don't finish it, and 'it costs us money, it costs us time.'

The counselor accused the client of not having made a very intelligent choice because her prior jobs had been traditional.

> So then she said, 'you should go down and get a good secretarial job, go to work for the state,' and I'm telling her that I don't want to do that. She said, 'Well, I'm going to put your application in, but I'm not going to push it.'

It took a year for this woman to enter training because her application is lost, her calls are not returned, and no one seems to be willing or able to take responsibility for rectifying the errors. Only when a woman from a local CETA subcontractor starts following the case and assisting the woman is the situation remedied.

The above example also illustrates two other common occurrences: 1) At each juncture the women are challenged as to whether or not they really want to do what they say they want to do. They must prove their interest by incredible persistence--calling daily for days on end to indicate seriousness of purpose--and have to reassure each successive interviewer that indeed they are motivated. 2) The agency staff uses the example of a woman who dropped out as a justification for not accepting women anymore and for employing tough screening tactics. The insidiousness of such irrational devices is overwhelming. To understand the obstacles facing a woman who does not choose to work in a "woman's occupation", one need only observe the fact that women have to really prove they are motivated to go into training for a skill such as auto mechanics. Yet, they are put into clerical classes (with pay) even if they express little or no interest.

The extent to which this burden of proof is put on the woman is unjust. How many men drop out? If one man does not do well, does that mean no more men will be admitted? Men do not have to struggle to the extent women do to become skilled in a trade; it is an appropriate option for a man. The women who want nontraditional training are treated differently from the men; they are required to meet standards which men are not expected to achieve. One candidate reported that she was told prior experience was a necessary qualification for admission to a certain program, and the staff was not sure she had enough. Later, she learned that the four men who applied at the same time were accepted and had had no experience.

Interviewers use a different line of questioning for women. As described by a woman who has recently been involved in the process:

> They have a way of talking down to you. They want to know if you're going to devote your life to whatever it is they are going to train you for. They wanted to know what if I had children? Was I going to get married? How did I feel about getting dirty? That's the most asked question, I guess. That's really insulting--I said that's what they made soap for.

Questions from counselors or interviewers seem mainly to arise from fears that women will fail, based on familiar stereotypes such as those already cited. They expend energy telling women how hard the work is, how dirty they will get, or how impossible it will be to get a job--all without providing any encouragement.

Women need agencies to be their advocates in the process of choosing new directions, not their adversaries. Encouragement and support, not discouragement, are the necessary sentiments. It is hard to imagine that it is not at least partially by design that women are kept out of these programs. We have been told that one barrier to women being placed in classes to learn nontraditional jobs is the agency's need to make placement quotas. One job developer told a woman applicant to a trade school that he was against women coming in because he would have to find them jobs, not an easy task given the prejudices of most employers. Many women are of the opinion that most of the personnel at the agencies and training institutions are against admitting women into classes that have been traditionally for men. They consistently encounter barrier after barrier which seem to have been erected for the purpose of discouraging and excluding them. It is important to understand that the incidents reported herein are not isolated cases; variations on the theme are repeated over and over. The women are hassled from the outset as they attempt to acquire training for nontraditional employment.

Many Women Are Not Getting the Instruction They Need

Women who somehow make it through the intake process and start attending classes find that many instructors do not want women in their classes. Their attitudes at the outset are patronizing at best, and often are overtly abusive. A few women report that teachers cancel classes when they try to attend. Examples of instructors giving women hard times abound. One woman tells about a teacher who had her do some dangerous work with steel. Even though the men were helping each other, he would not let any of the men assist her. Another woman had to clean barrels for the first few days and thereafter was systematically prevented from doing any shop work:

> The first job he gave me was cleaning out barrels, and the way he gave it to me I didn't cross him the whole day. When it came to anything like tuning an engine, I was an observer. Maybe they thought I would get tired and quit.

In an auto mechanics class, the instructor's bias became clearly evident:

> I was doing better than anybody in the class in terms of grades. On my progress report he wrote 100 for all my grades, and then under comments, 'Is doing very well, but because of her small size I don't believe she'll ever be able to lift the heads out of a V-8 engine by herself.' Which nobody does! 'Therefore,' he wrote, 'I have doubts as to whether she can be a mechanic.'

Frequently the instructors just would not or did not instruct. For example, in one class "it was like for every thirty hours we were here, we got one hour's worth of information." The reasons for this occurrence vary. There is, first, an intolerance of women, who frequently are more inexperienced than the men, even though classes are presumably designed for the unskilled. Instructors resent having to spend time teaching what they feel should be common knowledge. Many women are penalized for their lack of exposure to tools and machinery in earlier years and are often intimidated when asking questions by instructors who prefer that they not be there at all. Too many times their attempts to obtain answers are ignored, ridiculed or addressed in an extremely condescending manner.

Many of the complaints result from the instructors' inability to teach. Women students, however, did report that they are given a harder time than the male students and that the men receive more constructive help than they do. The assistance which is offered to the women commonly takes the form of being over-solicitous. The instructor does the work for them instead of showing them how; the inference is that the women are not capable of taking instruction or doing the task. This has the insidious effect of lowering confidence in their own abilities. The women indicate that they feel angry, cheated and disappointed.

Another cause for the lack of instruction derives from the inaccessibility of a teacher. We heard frequently that instructors leave the work area and cannot be found for long periods of time.

> I would have liked the instructor to have helped with the problems he gave us--he hardly spent any time at all. That should have been more. When I needed some help, I would have to waste a lot of time trying to find him.

In some instances, it appears that the instructor is simply incompetent, and that he did not know enough about the skill to be teaching it. One woman had a memorable experience with an instructor's inadequacy as she attempted a brake job: "It was done incorrectly and it cost $150 to get the whole thing done over. You can imagine what that sort of stuff does to us as women--for our confidence."

When the women feel they are not learning, they experience deep frustrations. These are highly motivated women who are committed to working hard. They wind up trying to learn in spite of the instructor. They study on their own from a book, ask and watch the men in the class, help each other work it out, and approach the instructor as seldom as possible. As one student put it:

> I feel that I just had to work my own way around my instructor, which I did. I just had to look the other way and ignore him. I figured, I'll go home and I'll understand at home.

Excellent instruction for women is vital. The following reasons for this cannot be reiterated enough:

1) Sex-role stereotyping, to which women are subjected from childhood, invariably has resulted in their being less knowledgeable initially than the men in the class.

2) Women have to prove to a lot of doubters (including themselves at times) that they can do the job. Confidence is gained as skills are obtained. Instructors undermine confidence when they do not impart meaningful information.

3) Because employers are at best reluctant to hire women--and more commonly loathe to do so--at this time the only ones who are getting hired are those who are better than their male counterparts.

One student in an auto tune-up class described the dilemma:

> Most employers who come to this agency want a good person, and there are good people coming out of this class. You take a guy who's twenty-two years old, he's been a backyard mechanic for four or six years and he's been working on his own car and working in a gas station. He comes into this class, it's really not that hard for him. Most of what he has to get down is just small stuff. Of course, they're going to take someone like that over a person who only knew how to put gas and oil into the car and change the oil filter before they got to the course.

A school which has been created and funded to serve diverse populations is responsible for providing for their special needs. Out of this come several suggestions:

1) A pre-course to prepare the student who does not know the basics.

2) Separate classes for students who need special help.

3) An orientation booklet containing basic knowledge necessary for the course (particularly when it is open entry and there is no formal introduction).

4) Better instructional materials

5) Increased opportunity for practical experiences--ideally, provision for work experience during training.

6) Improved student/teacher ratio

7) Recruitment of instructors who know the trade, know how to teach, and are able to relate to a wide variety of students.

8) Concentrated search for women instructors. As with male instructors, these will be women who are working in or have worked in the trades.

9) Creation of training courses for instructors, both men and women, as an efficient way of assuring the quality and sensitivity of staff.

Needed: Support

In addition to the difficulties with instructors and instruction, the women have other problems with which to cope. We have already documented the hostility and harassment the women face and the perpetuation of the feeling that they are in a place where many believe they do not belong. In a newly built vocational school, for example, all the bathroom doors say 'MEN'. Women are making it through the courses against incredible odds. Support to handle the pressure is an expressed need. Most women have to turn to their friends and family, or to each other, if they are fortunate enough not to be the only woman in the program. One way the training institution can help is by admitting more than one woman at a time to reduce the sense of isolation. There is almost no support coming from the referral agency or the school.

The women do not feel they can count on the instructors. In one class a woman reported:

> One of the guys took my stuff and threw it away. The instructor told me to start all over again and that he couldn't help me. He didn't go out there and tell them to cool it or anything.

The women are rarely contacted by a counselor either from the referral agency or the training institution; frequently, they do not even know there are counselors:

> At one point, I mentioned to Mr. A. that they probably should have a counselor and he said,well, I'm your counselor. This surprised me because I didn't know that.

If there is contact by a counselor, it is minimal:

> About a week after I started, a woman came up to me. She said, 'I'm your counselor; I just came over to say hello.' And she said hello, and left.

One student underscored the point when she said, "I never felt there was anyone that I could just go to and say 'help'."

Women in nontraditional training need support in the form of encouragement, strength and concern. It should be offered consistently and routinely and be of good quality. It cannot be withheld until the woman seeks it out; she may not even know that it is available. Responsibility must be assigned for follow-up support once a woman is admitted. There is little evidence to suggest the existence of any coordination between intake agency counselors and the training institution, and it seems neither views itself as being accountable.

Many of the women also require financial support. Along with the stipend, the women mentioned their need for a small sum to get them started. Some did not have the funds to buy shoes and overalls for school, and others told us how difficult it was for them to afford transportation costs. Child care is very often an expensive necessity. Some women who would have been eligible for a training stipend had they known of its existence are struggling to remain in school without the much needed supplement. One such student is highly motivated to stay in an auto mechanics program and is not getting any help:

> I'm really on my own--I've got to get some money together somehow. C. (a student with a stipend) told me about the CETA program and I went and applied, but they told me that I probably wouldn't be able to get on it for a long time and they didn't tell me when or anything.

When asked whether she had been given a clear explanation of how a person gets onto CETA, she responded: "No, they didn't tell me anything....If I can't live, then I'm going to have to leave school in summer."

The lack of both financial and moral support from the referral agency and school forced two women who were in a bricklaying class to quit after several weeks. They liked the work and were doing well, but the promised CETA stipend never came, and the men in other classes were abusive to the point of throwing beer bottles at them. No one from the referral agency had called or visited to see how they were doing, and the person they spoke with at the school regarding their need for money to continue kept putting them off until they could no longer manage.

The preceding account may lead one to ask why the women did not seek more help, or, in fact, demand it. What is critical is how they see themselves in relation to the opportunity. They, like many women, are not taught that it is their right to be trained; instead, they are led to believe that the agencies and the schools are doing them a favor just to let them in the door. Consequently, we heard time and again expressions of fear that if they assert themselves they will be denied the training. Good counseling could help combat the feeling that they must put up with the hassles and be grateful for the privilege. Optimally, intake and institutional staff will not operate out of the belief that they are bestowing a favor.

Are the Women Getting Jobs Upon Completion of Training?

There is a substantial discrepancy between the women's expectations and the reality of what a short course at a trade school can accomplish. It appears that most of these programs are designed to make a person trainable. A few of the women who are finishing their courses say that they feel ready to go to work, but do not specify if that means as an apprentice, a trainee or a regular hire. Almost all observe that the courses are far too short. The point invariably stressed is that the schools should give advance notice of just what they can provide. Neither the intake agencies nor the schools give potential students enough information about the classes prior to enrollment. One or the other needs to be made contractually responsible to do so.

Very few of the women we interviewed who have completed a training program to learn a trade are currently working in that field. Women are ready to work--they are trained and motivated--they have struggled to get into trade school. They often have persisted despite enormous obstacles. Then, when they finish, still another set of barriers stands between them and jobs. There is something wrong with a system that trains people who then do not get jobs in their trades. For the purposes of this discussion, we are concerned with job referrals and placements only in relation to the training institutions.

All the women say that they were led to believe by intake staff, counselors and teachers that they would get jobs when they finished. They anticipated no difficulties, and apparently in some cases the program staff was as surprised as the women at the magnitude of the problems in dealing with employers' prejudices. The following comments attest to the misconception. A graduate in machine repair says:

> I feel a little bit that I was deluded as to just how hard it was going to be when I was in the program. I got the feeling from the teachers that it was going to be just a snap. It's just not like that.

An auto body repair person reports:

> We had been told all the way through it would be easy to get a job. The instructors were saying it. The director of the program was. My counselor was. I didn't actually believe them, so I wasn't too shocked when it turned out that it was exactly the opposite. S. (the teacher) called up just about everybody that he knows, which is just about everybody in the auto body field, and he would say, 'I have two terrific people here and they need a job,' and the guy would say, 'Oh, good, send them down.' 'And they happen to be women.' And then, 'Well, forget it.' He was really shocked because he thought it would be fairly easy to get us a job--with affirmative action and all.

Depending on the school and on whether the student is CETA or not, assistance in locating employment is assigned to the intake agency or to a placement office at the school. In practice, neither seems to do much. Most often, programs utilize instructors as prime placement resources because they are familiar with people in the trades. Utilizing instructors in this manner is inadequate at best. It means that instructors have to spend much time outside the classroom making contacts instead of teaching and do not have time to function well in either capacity. It also sometimes puts the women at a great disadvantage given the sexist attitudes of so many of the teachers.

The options for work after training are often limited by the instructors or placement counselors having preconceived notions about where people should and should not work. Programs encourage students to seek work with certain employers, and frown on the woman who wants to use her newly gained skills in any but the most corporate or union shop setting. If a woman dares mention that she would like to go into business for herself, there would presumably be no encouragement whatsoever.

The women who have been out of school for some time are bewildered and discouraged. A case in point is the woman who was trained in business machine repair/electronics and placed by the school before she finished the course. She was placed as a trainee, but there had been no provision made to train her. She was fired after two months without justification. This is an example of a poor placement. What is needed is better initial communication between the placement source and the employer, in which the details of the job are discussed; negotiation of a contract to train and retain the student; and follow-up by the agency after placement to act as an intermediary for any problems on the job. Unfortunately, schools and agencies are not now funded to make careful placements.

In the case of the woman just cited, she has been unable to return to school to complete the course because she has already been counted as a termination by virtue of having been placed. The intake/placement agency for the school has not been able to help and, in fact, has been firmly suggesting secretarial jobs. She says: "They've been steering me into clerical work because I guess they don't have that many other type openings." She has not been able to find another job on her own. She reports that men keep getting the positions she interviews for, that she is given terrible runarounds by employers, and that she is subjected to interview tactics which are not used when men apply. She also indicates that employers want to hire those with actual job experience and do not look with much favor upon trade school graduates.

All the women are feeling let down. They are making comments such as: "I'm very glad I got the training but I don't feel I'm a lot better off than I was before" and "What it was for me is temporary welfare--I'm right back where I started." Many of them are back in traditional jobs or training--the woman in the case detailed above is currently working as a typist. Two factors which intensify their difficulties are 1) most of them are trying to enter the blue collar job market for the first time and do not know how to operate, and 2) employers do not want to hire women.

When up against such obstacles, the process is more than an individual woman can handle on her own. The situation calls for implementation of a new category of services designed to address the special problems of placing women in nontraditional blue collar jobs upon completion of training programs. These services would include:

1) A comprehensive job development component working to change employers' views about women in the trades and to create openings for women.

2) Classes in job-seeking skills which would inform the women of their rights in an interview and to a job, teach them how to sell their skills in an unfamiliar job market, and prepare them for what to expect in an interview and how to conduct themselves.

3) Provision for follow-up and support upon completion of the program continuing through job search, placement, and adaptation to the job.

The realization that women are not going to be hired unless special efforts are made brings with it the need for expansion in the allowable use of funds.

A True Story

The following is a much abbreviated case history of what happened to two women from the time they together decided to learn a skilled trade. It is presented to illustrate that the entire experience of getting into a program and learning a nontraditional occupation is fraught with difficulties in the extreme. With full understanding of the situation will come awareness of the need for improvements at every level.

T. and E. agreed it would be wise to go back to school and get a trade, and discovered that information on programs is not easy to come by:

> We looked into it and nobody told us about CETA. Just like it was a secret or something. It took us a month to get where we wanted....I heard about that skills center from a brochure, so we went down there and talked to the instructor for shipfitters; we thought there were already some women in that.

They found out later it was welding, not shipfitting, that most of the women were studying. The instructor at the center managed to totally undermine their confidence:

> He showed us around and all of a sudden he laid a bomb on us--'You can't lift this, you couldn't take that.' I was too short; T. was too heavy--there's always something, you know. He was putting words in our mouths. Everytime we'd try to get in a word, he'd say, 'Well, you just couldn't do it.' He was really talking down to us and trying to discourage us. So we did get scared, because this was our first time. So we asked about other courses and he mentioned pipefitting. Then we talked to the instructor for pipefitting and he was really good. He told us that the two women he had had in his classes were better than the men. So we talked to him and figured, well, we'll go into pipefitting.

That is how the particular trade was chosen. No one presented and described the different trades or helped them assess their interests and skills as they consider the range of possibilities. They are fortunate to be pleased with their choices after they began learning.

They were told to apply at the agency which did intake for the school. The staff person at the agency then tried to dissuade them, and they had to display an extraordinary amount of perseverance and determination in order to get anywhere with their pursuit:

> We went back downtown to a place to fill out an application, and the woman there was trying to get us into a lot of different stuff like typing and secretarial. I said, 'That's what I'm trying to get away from is typing. I want something that I believe I can do. And I'd like to try it. I'm all for it. I'm very interested in it. And once I get interested in something, I can't get uninterested because it's always on my mind.' That's when she told us about the CETA program and sent us to another agency which does CETA intake.

At each turn, they have to assure someone that their intent is unwavering.

E. continues:

> The person I talked to first at that agency asked, would I be interested in something else and I says, no, and he says, OK, and I took a test. My dexterity was great; my math was really rusty. My counselor said my math was very low and would I like to go into something else like secretarial. I said no. 'You still want to go into pipefitting?' I say, yes. She says, well, your math is really down, and I says, well, I'll go to school for that. So she got me into a class a couple hours a day before the class in pipefitting.

It is worth noticing that it is the client who suggests the remedial class, not the counselor.

Another category of information which the agency failed to provide involves financial assistance. E. spent days trying to find a friend to take care of her child so she could start school--she had not been told about the $100 advance which is provided for child care, and by the time she learned about it, it was too late to apply.

Both T. and E. passed the tests at the agency and were referred to the training institution (not the skills center they first visited) for more interviews and tests, which they passed. They finally started classes, and thus began the onset of a new set of problems--this time involving the men in the class, and to an even greater extent, the instructor.

For the first few weeks they were subjected to hazing by the male students which included the calculated use of hard language and sabotaging of T's projects. As for the instructor:

> When we first got there, we almost quit pipefitting and went to welding. Right away the instructor hopped on us, 'Now what do you want to come in here for? I mean, this is man's work.' We sat there, we were scared stiff again. We got in there all happy, and then to be let down again. So he tried to talk us out of it and he almost did. He tells us we won't be able to take this type of work because it was going to be too heavy and that we had no business being out there. He said I should be home with my children and my family. I feel that I'm doing this for my family. I want my children to go to college. He told us no way will we ever get a job--no way, because they don't ever hire women pipefitters around here.

The women went to talk with a counselor at the school (the only time they spoke with her) who told them that a woman had been hired by a local employer to do pipefitting and that they should return to the class. They resolved to stay with it, and then were given harder work to do than the men:

> He tried to make it really difficult. He didn't start off like he was supposed to, from the beginning. He started us off with heavy stuff, heavy problems--we got on something the guys didn't have. He's only had one other woman in his class, and she came out on top too; I don't think he likes women coming out on top.

The teacher either left the instruction of the women to the male students in the class or engaged in "over-help" which was deleterious. E. says:

> I wanted some instruction, and he didn't help me much. All the machines we worked on, H. (the instructor) did not show us. We learned from the guys and from just watching.

When asked whether that was true with the men too--whether they were assisted in the same way:

> No, he helped them. He treated us like babies, we couldn't do this and we couldn't do that, and don't work on the machines. On one of the projects I couldn't get it filed down right, and so I went to H. and asked him to show me how to do this--just show me. He came up and did it for me! Now he's skilled, he doesn't need the practice--I'm new and I need him to show me, not do it. He did that to me about three or four times. That made me pretty mad. I said I'm not asking for help again, and I didn't.

T. talks about her feelings: "One night I cried and told my husband, why is it that I want to learn, and nobody wants to teach me."

As if this was not enough, they have to suffer the indignity of asking permission to use the bathroom:

> The bathroom we were supposed to use was for the employees; it was locked and we didn't have keys. It's embarrassing to have to wait and wait and then finally say, Mr. H., can we use your key to go to the bathroom. And when I say go to the bathroom, they all laugh. The guys sit in class and laugh. I was embarrassed and I didn't like the idea that they knew where I was going. Because the guys can just get up out of class and go.

The established grievance procedure was ineffective: "We did tell our student representative about that, but I don't think he said anything, because we didn't get any kind of word."

Obviously they made it through the course despite terrible obstacles; they credit support from some of the men in the class (after weeks of harassment), from their families, and from each other. E. said:

> If I was by myself I don't think I could have done it. I think I would have left if I didn't have any encouragement at all. Because we both encouraged each other.

They never heard from the referral agency or from a counselor at the school. They did express gratitude for the training stipend which was essential. Even that, however, has its negative ramifications because it leads to the women's fear of complaining. Financial support can undermine the belief that one is entitled to receive training.

At the time of the interview, T. and E. had just graduated. They are somewhat disappointed in the amount of material that was covered and feel that the course is too short. E. said she knew she would not learn everything, but that there should have been more. She feels the course should at least cover what the school indicated would be included. There were a lot of projects left undone and some important skills omitted. Nonetheless, they love doing pipefitting and felt ready to go to work. They were anxious to get jobs soon lest they begin to lose the skills they have acquired. They were scheduled to go on one interview, and, to their great disappointment, at the last moment the company called and cancelled, giving no reason. Their instructor gave them good evaluations and pronounced them ready for placement, but:

> When he heard we were going to go on that interview, he said, 'No, no, no. They don't even hire females over there. You're not that good. They only hire the best.' I guess he means men.

This was certainly an effective means of undermining the women's sense of self. When we talked about employers' attitudes on the job once a woman is hired, the women jokingly replied that if they could put up with their instructor, they could take anything. The question remains whether they will get the chance.

Use and Misuse of OJT

Agencies with OJT programs have the potential to help women obtain the necessary skills and experience in nontraditional occupations. As an alternative to training at an institution, on-job-training can be a most satisfactory vehicle for facilitating women's entrance into nontraditional employment, provided it is well-conceived and administered. It can afford the opportunity to learn a skill and advance to a higher career goal while acquiring the actual experience which employers commonly use as a requirement for prospective employees. This is especially crucial for women desirous of nontraditional jobs because, as a result of the socialization process, most of them have had less opportunity to develop skills. Employers, furthermore, are unlikely to hire any but the most experienced and highly qualified women, if they will hire any at all.

For those employed women who want to go from a traditional position to a nontraditional one at the same work site, OJT can be a bridge; the employer is given the funds for training. For example, a woman who had been working as a keypunch operator at a newspaper for over a year wanted to learn production, and OJT monies were obtained for that purpose. Unfortunately, that particular case became an instance of how OJT can go wrong--the men in the department did not want a woman there and would not train her. They tried to discourage her at first by saying it was a man's job. When she persisted, they thwarted her strong desire to learn by various means such as telling her they were too busy or simply ignoring her. During this time she asked for help from some staff members outside the department, who were either reluctant to upset the men who had such an important role in turning out the paper, or were unable to see a way to influence a change. She had no contact with the agency responsible for the OJT position either at the time it was created or at any other time, so there was no support from employer or agency. Here is part of the story in her words:

> As the production manager put it to me, I don't think you'll be able to take it. The long hours would be too much for you. I said that's only one night a week. He said it'll be hard standing on your feet. I said I know what the job calls for....I know for a fact he didn't say the same thing to men who apply for the job. They were hiring new men while I was trying to get in.... It was fine when I did typesetting. They wouldn't let me do anything else. They stopped me from learning. Whichever way I went I couldn't get in. They would hide stuff and say it's lost, you don't want to bother with it. They would lock the camera room or take the screen away. They really guard it close; they didn't want a woman to learn their end of the paper....I used to hang around because you could learn by watching....I told the business manager and the managing editor that I was having a conflict....Finally I lost hope and left.

The end result is she is directing a nursery school rather than pursuing a nontraditional career which she thinks she would have preferred. The ending might have been different had the contract been drawn up and implemented with the necessary care to insure proper training.

One of the most distressing finds of the study is the extent to which some OJT slots have been abused both by the agencies and by the employers. Several women have been placed in these positions without ever having spoken with an agency representative; they do not even know which agency put them there, what the meaning of the program is, and what to expect at the end of the time. It appears that some employers are using the money to pay for getting something done cheaply, with little regard for the welfare of the person they hire to do that job. The women do, indeed, pick up a paycheck for a certain number of months, and may benefit from the opportunity to do some interesting things and learn a few skills. They could and should be getting more.

The following is a list of elements an agency might incorporate into its OJT program from the point of view of the women seeking to learn a nontraditional skill:

1) A commitment to women's entrance into nontraditional employment.

2) Sufficient staff to exert a consistent effort for developing OJT positions and advocacy for women.

3) Provision of a monetary incentive to be sure, but also an incentive based on the contribution they are making toward equal opportunity for women who have not had that in the past. The agency can imbue the employer with a positive attitude toward the program and understanding of its goals.

4) Contracting with employers who will offer good quality training.

5) Prior agreement with the employer on details of what training shall consist of and what the hiring policy will be at the conclusion.

6) Establishment of good rapport with the client in which her interests and capabilities are explored and then matched to a job.

7) Moral support given initially and assured throughout.

8) Follow-up to insure that the client is receiving the training as agreed upon and to mediate should any problems arise. This should be routine, not just as a response to a complaint.

An agency specifically designed to place minority clients in OJT positions to learn drafting was doing an exemplary job; our interviews with women who have gone through this program suggest that it is one of the best available. Without detracting from their success, we can observe that the placements are in engineering and architectural firms, where, perhaps, the personnel are generally more sophisticated and enlightened in their attitudes toward women than those in other industries such as the construction trades. Therefore, the agency's job is somewhat easier. Also, the participating employers were instrumental in creating the agency initially, and have a commitment to it. At any rate, it is serving the women well:

1) The agency has provided for a representative screening committee drawing from ex-students, program staff, industry and the discipline.

2) They are getting quality training from the people they work with. Several have real mentors who lend moral support, carefully watch their progress and are truly interested in seeing them succeed.

3) Supplemental classroom instruction is an integral component.

4) There is an opportunity for upward mobility to pursue their skills at a higher level, often by returning to college for a degree in architecture or engineering.

5) In those few instances when a firm was failing to give adequate instruction or work to do, and the women have come to the agency for help, the staff put pressure on the higher echelons to correct the situation.

5. Legal Barriers to Women Entering Nontraditional Employment

OVERVIEW OF RELEVANT LEGISLATION

Introduction

It is now widely assumed that recent court determinations have rectified the few remaining legal inequities still facing women in the job market.[1] Even granting the truth of this notion, it is imperative to have some sense of the historical context within which women who sought jobs found themselves. Adjudication attempting to redress numerous specific grievances does not begin to counter the discriminatory treatment that our long existing laws served to impose on women. Our legal institutions reflect deeply rooted societal attitudes and values, and merely changing the former unfortunately will not have immediate ramifications on the latter. Some understanding of the relationship between the two is necessary to underscore our contention that the legal system has continuing implications for women entering nontraditional employment.

As early as 1836, the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics and Other Workingmen had advocated special labor legislation for women in order to control the size of the workforce. The text of its resolution that year was: "Whereas labor is a physical and moral injury to women and a competitive menace to men, we recommend legislation to restrict women in industry."[2]

Today, the attitude persists that women cannot perform certain kinds of work, such as skilled crafts and professional jobs, and constitutes a significant barrier to a woman's entry into these fields. The fear that a working woman is a threat to a man's job, moreover, often underlies the belief that she cannot do a"man's work". A woman seeking nontraditional employment in California, however, finally has the law on her side for really the first time. Obtaining effective enforcement of these laws is now the crucial issue facing women attempting to gain access to fields traditionally closed to them. We are attempting to examine the problems a woman seeking nontraditional employment had in the past, and may continue to encounter, as well as the possible remedies for those problems.

Historical Perspective: Whatever Happened to Rosie the Riveter?

Women have been shuttled in and out of the labor force for many years. As a source of cheap labor, women posed a threat to men's jobs when the employment market was tight. Protective legislation and occupational segregation were two ways of controlling the competition after World War I. In 1918, for example, the Wisconsin Federation of Labor, having resolved at its annual convention to protect workers from an influx of women, introduced legislation to forbid the employment of women in the polishing and buffing trade.[3] In Cleveland in the same year, a three-day strike by male union members on street car lines ended with an agreement to eliminate women from jobs as conductors for the Cleveland Railway Company.[4] Protective laws, of course, were also motivated by the sincere desire to protect women from hazardous and unduly arduous working conditions. Nevertheless, the aftermath of the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire in 1912 brought not only better working conditions for women in sweatshops, but also provided a mechanism for keeping women in an uncompetitive position in a male dominated job market. Because the women could no longer work over-time or lift heavy weights, they also could not get many well-paying factory jobs. It is not coincidental that protective laws were strictly enforced during the Depression, thereby increasing the competitive disadvantage of women in the scarce job market.[5] It was assumed that men needed the jobs more.

Many new trades and occupations were opened to women during World War II. In virtually every state, protective laws were relaxed in order to enable women to work in war industries. As the war ended, men returned to find their old jobs in factories and offices filled by women. The result was a whole new group of psychological and legal manipulations to force women out or down in an overcrowded labor market. Women were laid off if they did not retire voluntarily;[6] when rehiring began their seniority was ignored or obviated by veterans' preference.[7] Crafts unions often excluded women, yet after the war union-only shops were common. Jobs were reclassified as "Men Only", and women holding those jobs were forced to accept lower-paid jobs elsewhere or unemployment. No public child care facilities existed during the post-war baby boom to help women retain their jobs. Perhaps most significantly, social and psychological pressure, in the form of the promulgation of the feminine mystique, convinced women to leave their jobs for home and family. Women were once again the weaker sex, miraculously unable to do the jobs they just had done during the war years.

Since the early 1950's, however, the number of women in nontraditional employment has steadily been on the rise. Despite obstacles of over-protective legislation. lack of child care, hostile unions, and discriminatory pay scales and job classifications, women have slowly filtered back into the factories and skilled trades. Now with no federal or California laws sanctioning job discrimination against women (with the exception of women in the military service) we have begun to focus on the remaining barriers; one set of particular relevance to this discussion is that created by the bureaucracies entrusted with the enforcement of laws against discrimination. It is also of interest to note how the legal system might act affirmatively to facilitate women's entrance into nontraditional employment.

The Current Law in Relation to Women and Nontraditional Employment

Federal Law. Discrimination in any term or condition of employment on the basis of sex, as well as race, color, natural origin and religion, is proscribed by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[8] This law does not allow an employer to:

> ...limit, segregate, or classify his employees in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities...because of such individual's sex.

In 1972, Title VII was amended to extend to most public and private employers with the exception of the military. This law applies not only to hiring policies, but to later advancement and benefits as well.

The loophole in this federal prohibition against discrimination is the Bona Fide Occupational Qualification (BFOQ). The law allows an employer to consider sex

In the hiring process if it is a BFOQ reasonably necessary to the normal operation of that particular business or enterprise. This would, for instance, apply to the job of actress, or wet-nurse. It does not apply to an agent-telegrapher, as the Southern Pacific Company discovered in the landmark case of Rosenfeld v. Southern Pacific Company.[9] In that case, the court refused to accept the commonly accepted characterization of women as the "weaker sex" as a BFOQ, and rejected the general assumption regarding the physical capabilities of female employees.

This policy of nondiscrimination is enforced by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). The jurisdiction of the EEOC extends to all businesses except those with fewer than fifteen employees or those without contact with commerce. Government contractors and sub-contractors, furthermore, are covered by Executive Order 11246 as amended by 11375. Under the authority of these orders, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) has required contractors to take "affirmative action" to place women and minorities in jobs in which they are underrepresented. President Carter has indicated he may combine those two offices in the interests of a more effective enforcement mechanism. This is undoubtedly a step in the right direction.

Both the EEOC and the OFCC have promulgated guidelines to dissipate the impact of disparate treatment of the sexes in testing for a job. EEOC Guideline 1607.11 and OFCC Guideline 6003.11, for example, forbid giving a new group of applicants a different test than a previous group if its impact would be to keep out women or minorities. Similarly, there are guidelines to require an employer to use an objective test or eliminate a certain requirement rather than use subjective procedure such as an interview. Interviews often are used as a screening devise for the rejection of protected groups, and pre-job testing is a practice easily subject to manipulation by employers to keep women out of the workforce. Guidelines in this area must be strictly enforced and the testing must be regularly monitored.

Title VII policies have been applied in a variety of discriminatory situations in California besides testing. In Schaeffer v. San Diego Yellow Cabs, Inc.,[10] an employer claimed a woman cabbie was limited by state protective legislation to an eight-hour day, while her male counterparts were not. The court, however, held, in essence, that state protective laws were not BFOQ's, since they did not encompass only sexual characteristics. They were, in fact, broad assessments of physical capabilities and endurance which had an illegal discriminatory impact, and were thus invalid.

In another case, a sex-neutral policy with a discriminatory impact was struck down, after application of Title VII principles.[11] Minimum height requirements and a physical agility test made it almost impossible for women to qualify for positions as San Francisco police officers. There was no demonstrated correlation, however, between height and an officer's ability to perform police duties. Thus, no "business necessity" existed for the height requirement. Even if the agility test was valid, moreover, the city had the burden of showing there was no alternative way of assuring that all officers were physically able to do their jobs. A previous Title VII case, Griggs v. Duke Power Company,[12] developed "business necessity" and "no alternative non-discriminatory means" as the only justification an employer could rely on for continuing employment practices that adversely affected women and minorities. The remedy in the San Francisco case was the requirement that the city hire fifteen women for every class of forty, until sixty women had been hired whose performance could be studied.

While many gains have been won for women under Title VII, it has not always been the EEOC's doing. Plagued with a deficient budget, the EEOC simply cannot handle the number of complaints referred. At the beginning of 1976, the EEOC was 250,000 cases behind, with no improvement expected. Currently, it takes at least five months for the EEOC to acknowledge receipt of a complaint, and if an investigation is undertaken, a total of three years may elapse. After this process, the employer may still fail to comply with the EEOC decision. In that case, an action must be brought in Federal Court and several more years may go by before an enforceable judgment is rendered. Most suits under Title VII are brought by women who have obtained "right to sue letters" from the EEOC after a sixty-day wait to allow for conciliation attempts or voluntary compliance by the employer. If no amicable solution is reached within these sixty days, outside legal counsel can then sue the employer.

Unfortunately, the Labor Department does not effectively oversee the enforcement of the Executive Orders either. While a consortium of businesses had some input into the revising of the regulations promulgated under the Executive Orders, the only recourse for women's groups are through hearings scheduled around the country on these and other regulations affecting their working lives. The Secretary of Labor has indicated his attitude in the answer to the complaint in Advocates for Women v. Ussery.[13] In this suit, the Secretary was being asked to enforce the order as to women in the construction trades. The Secretary unequivocally claimed that no women wanted these jobs!

Clearly, it would be appropriate for the Labor Department to undertake a study determining the level of interest in nontraditional employment among women. Women's groups invariably are understaffed and underfinanced and thus cannot afford to do this. There must be great care in designing the study to avoid suggestive sex-stereotyped questions. As another source of data, the Labor Department might also look to consent decrees on affirmative action plans that have quickly filled the goals for hiring women.

The Justice Department is authorized to enforce Title VII as part of its civil rights jurisdiction. This is supposed to take the form of "pattern and practice" suits aimed at employers with a tradition of discrimination. It has used this power, however, for virtually no sex discrimination cases. Once again, the law is present, but the enforcement is lacking.

There are a number of other federal laws that can help women attempting to enter nontraditional employment. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972[14] prohibits sex discrimination in education, including vocational and professional programs. Since a major obstacle to women entering fields of nontraditional employment is the lack of educational background, be it in technical skills or mathematics, this act may also contribute to women's access to previously sex-segregated occupations. Education must prepare women both psychologically and academically for all jobs. Obviously, this must begin at a young age to have a real effect on the distribution of work in this society.

The Equal Pay Act of 1963 added a new section to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938.[15] It provides that women shall receive equal pay for equal work, and affords a cause of action against unions and employers who discriminate against employees on the basis of sex. Some courts have realized that women are paid lower wages for virtually the same work because they are clustered in certain job classifications. In these cases, the classification veil can be pierced to find liability for sex discrimination. Unfortunately, as a result of the many exceptions to the Fair Labor Standards Act, only about one half of the female employees in the U.S. are covered by the Equal Pay Act.

Another federal law that has a positive, if indirect, effect on women seeking nontraditional employment is the Age Discrimination in Employment Act. Since many women return to work later in life, after raising families, the prohibition against discrimination by employers, employment agencies or unions on the basis of a person being between forty and sixty-five is a boon to women. This law is supposed to be enforced by the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor. Age discrimination in apprenticeship programs has been dealt a death blow at the state level.[16] The next step is to give women credit, similar to veterans' preference credits, for "losing years" by staying home and bearing and raising children.

The problem, then, is really enforcement of these laws. The federal government has cleaned up its act by outlawing sex discrimination on the books. What remains now is a concerted effort to make these laws meaningful and effective. This can only happen with an increase in the budgets of the enforcing agencies and an executive mandate to make eradicating sex discrimination a priority.

State Law. Until the original Rosenfeld[17] case in 1968, state protective laws were the major foundation for the discriminatory practices of employers. Protective laws related to hours, wages, working conditions (such as seats and rest periods), and heavy lifting. These restrictions led to unequal pay for women doing virtually the same work as men, and sex-segregated occupations because "women can't do the work". Women prohibited from lifting fifty pounds at work, of course, were never prohibited from lifting fifty pounds of children at home, or fifty pounds of crops in the fields. Since the 1968 decision, these laws have remained on the books in California[18] but are not enforced because they have been judicially declared invalid as discrimination on the basis of sex.

Also, on October 18, 1976, the Division of Labor Standards Enforcement started enforcing the new orders of the Industrial Welfare Commission (IWC). The IWC has done a variety of useful things such as extending a $2.50 minimum wage to both men and women, requiring rest periods and meal periods for men and women, and requiring employers to provide tools and uniforms for low-paid workers. Women often have not collected tools for years as many men have, and the expense of a sophisticated tool kit required on a job has sometimes deterred women from pursuing jobs in the skilled trades. While a furor has raged over the effect of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment on protective legislation, California has acknowledged that protective legislation was invalidated by Title VII and has either eliminated all the requirements or extended them to all employees. Now, for example:

> No employee shall be required to lift, push or carry any object which is beyond the employee's reasonable physical capacity at any given time, except that it shall not be a violation to require this if it is part of the usual duties for which the employee was hired, or when it is specified in a classification of the job.

There are a number of pending state laws that may also aid women attempting to break into new fields of endeavor. One bars discrimination based on sex or marital status in employment on public works projects,[19] and others[20] would revise the labor code to prohibit discrimination based on marital status and also provide a new equal pay provision. A bill killed this year would have prohibited age discrimination in the thirty-five to sixty-five range,[21] and passage should be attempted in the future. The Federal Age Discrimination Act does cover the forty to sixty-five range. A recent bill in the assembly [22] adds to the Education Code and provides that all school counselors must do nontraditional employment counseling for women.

In spite of these new orders and pending bills, paternalistic attitudes like those that engendered protective legislation still remain. While women should be protected from intolerable working conditions, so should men. Today, one of the most controversial issues in labor relations is occupational safety and health. This may become a new euphemism used to keep women out of jobs. Under the Occupational Health and Safety Act of 1970,[23] and its California equivalent, ALOSHA,[24] many industrial toxins, such as vinyl chloride, are being labelled as dangerous to pregnant women. Employers may run afoul of the EEOC and the courts if they limit jobs that fertile or pregnant women may hold on the basis of the 181 substances[25] which may cause fetal deformities; yet most people would think that women should not hold the jobs that expose them to these dangerous substances. Research, however, is beginning to show that these substances affect male reproduction too. The answer to this quandry is clearly more research into industrial health and, in the meantime, job rotation without loss of seniority, pay, rank, or fringe benefits, to protect all workers from prolonged exposure to harmful substances.

In some states, the domestic relations laws obligating a man to support his wife and children may also be an obstacle to women entering the workforce, but since 1975 in California, the obligation of support has been mutual.[26] The ascribed roles domestic relations law previously applied to men and women assisted employers by giving them a rationale for discriminating against women. No longer in California can employers assume it has to be the men who stay in the workforce and support families, or that it will be the men who dictate where the family will move.

California also has a parallel to Title VII and the EEOC in the Fair Employment Practices Act[27] and the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC). The FEPC has a broader mandate than the EEOC; it also prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of age, medical condition, physical handicap or marital status. This may in part account for its lack of effectiveness in the area of prohibition of sex discrimination. While a complaint may be taken to the FEPC instead of, or in addition to the EEOC, doing so will not expedite matters. Many attorneys avoid the FEPC because of its reputation for slowness and its lack of satisfactory dispositions of sex discrimination cases. Another drawback is that if the FEPC finds no discrimination, there is no new trial in state court. There can be a review of the findings, but it can only be overturned if it is without any basis. There is, in fact, no private right of action under the FEPA in the courts, and the agency rarely utilizes its right to sue for compliance. Conciliation agreements, if ever made, are not readily enforceable. Furthermore, parts of the FEPA allow discrimination based on sex. Section 1427, for example, allows bona fide retirement plans to take sex into account, giving tacit recognition to the belief that sex discrimination is somehow less important than race discrimination under the FEPA.

Perhaps the dilatory attitude of the FEPC, also hampered by inadequate funding, staffing and training, can in some measure be counteracted by the California courts. In Sail'er Inn v. Kirby,[28] the Supreme Court of California dealt with the historically sex-segregated occupation of bartending. The court not only held that a statute prohibiting women from tending bar violated the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment of the California Constitution, but declared that sex, like race and religion, was a suspect classification requiring careful scrutiny by the courts for unconstitutionality whenever used to differentiate inequitably between people. The U.S. Supreme Court, however, still does not take this position on sex discrimination.

California, then, needs to direct its energies toward a potent enforcement agency for its laws and programs prohibiting sex discrimination. While the labor code could still use some cleaning up, what is really imperative is to change the FEPC into a tool for quick,effective enforcement of the laws. To rely on women themselves bringing suits, as in Sail'er Inn, is a piecemeal method at best. The burden should be on the state. While monitoring two million employers is quite a task, the FEPC can at least do better on its cases. FEPC should train its own hearing officers on Title VII and FEPA rights. The FEPC needs more legal help; the fact is that most consultants are not even attorneys. Building up FEPA case law will provide California with a legal base against sex discrimination even if EEO law takes a turn for the worse. Case law, even from public hearings, has a ripple effect that may deter other discriminating employers.

Apprenticeships and the Cal Plan

There is one area where recent legislation has at least begun to pave the way for women's entrance into a traditionally male stronghold--the apprenticeship programs. As of December, 1975, only 312 of 30,233 active California apprentices were women.[29]

Under state law, all Joint Apprenticeship Councils (Management and Unions) had been required to establish goals and timetables for admission of minorities. The California Plan for Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship (Cal Plan) was adopted pursuant to Title 29 of the Code of Federal Regulations. Part 30 provides that each state must set up an affirmative action plan to promote equality of opportunity in apprenticeship programs.

In January, 1976, largely through the efforts of women's groups, the Cal Plan was amended to specifically list women as a class for whom goals and timetables are to be set. The Cal Plan covers the areas of recruitment, selection, conditions of employment and training, and the processing of complaints and sanctions for non-compliance. The main problem, of course, is that it is voluntary.

It is imperative that the state take an active and partisan role in affirmative action. The burden now falls to women's groups to recruit and prepare women for apprenticeships. It is the state's responsibility to make its laws effective. In this case, the fact that each local is able to set up its own programs makes monitoring for compliance very difficult. Often women must file suit against different locals of the same union in a variety of locations, since no state-wide system for enforcement is currently operative.

The Cal Plan does place some of the burden on unions. The union must disseminate information about an apprenticeship program at least forty-five days before the closing date for applications. It is also the unions' responsibility to gain acceptance and support of affirmative action from supervisors and employers, as well as union members.

Recently AB 3676 has increased the scope of the Cal Plan by abolishing the maximum age limit of thirty-one for entering an apprenticeship program. This could help women who attempt to re-enter the labor force after child-raising. AB 3676 also sets up the Division of Apprenticeship Standards as a watchdog body for selection and disciplinary proceedings.

A woman's access to an apprenticeship program has long been blocked by a variety of almost insurmountable obstacles. Whereas the amendment to the Cal Plan is a beginning, the road ahead is still bleak. In addition to the battery of tests, interviews and forms which must be successfully completed, a serious obstacle to success is the practice of awarding veterans' preference points. The following chapter is based on a case history of two women attempting to break through the barriers of suspicion, lack of appropriate education and skills, sexist interviews and arduous physical tests and enter a truly male dominated field. Even having overcome these barriers, the women may fall short of their goal when they find their total point score inferior to men who have the benefit of veterans' preference credit.

VETERANS' PREFERENCE

Introduction

On April 5, 1976, Civil Service Announcement N. FR-4-03 invited applications for a lucrative apprentice program at Mare Island Naval Shipyard in Vallejo, California. The announcement promised a starting wage of $4.70 per hour for a four-year program of full-time in-training work in one of thirty blue collar jobs. The examination was described as a written test of one and one-half hours duration consisting of questions in measuring, pattern matching, shop arithmetic and following oral directions. For some trades, a proficiency in algebra would also be required. It was emphasized that no minimum score would be required on the written test, but that final rating would be a combination of the test score and "other information".

The apprenticeships promised a rare opportunity for women to enter blue collar fields that have been all but closed to them in private industry. Besides steady employment for four years at a good salary with wage increases, there would be almost certain guarantee of a permanent job upon completion of the program. While Mare Island and the Civil Service Commission have implemented respective EEO programs, private efforts appeared necessary considering de facto exclusion of women in apprentice classes in the preceding years. Of the three hundred to four hundred positions added each year in the last three years (1974, 1975, and 1976) only fifty have been occupied by women. From World War II until three years ago, only two women were regularly employed by Mare Island.

Therefore, Advocates for Women and the Bay Area Construction Opportunity Program (BACOP) recruited and tutored four hundred women twice a week for two months in nine Bay Area counties for the Civil Service examination to take place in May and June. A tutorial program seemed imperative given the nature of the exam. The test employed had been used unrevised for the past ten years. As noted, it tested mathematics by examples related to shop rather than kitchen experience. Since the blue collar trades have thus far been almost totally off limits to women, it was a safe assumption that most women would not have mastered shop arithmetic and related skills, and would require training in translating familiar symbols into the new medium.

The tutorial program was an enormous success and the women earned unusually high scores. Those with 95-100% assumed they would be interviewed. However, later they learned that only applicants with ratings of over 100% would be considered and that only veterans of the military could receive such high scores.

Before completing our discussion of the Mare Island situation, we shall now attempt to provide an historical context within which to explore this issue. We are concerned with the system of veterans' preference in Civil Service[30] which operated to prevent inclusion of non-veterans in the apprenticeship program and in many Civil Service positions throughout the country.[31]

The Veterans' Preference Act

The Veterans' Preference Act of 1944 (5 U.S.C. 851) was enacted to give returning World War II veterans a range of benefits facilitating their re-entry into civilian life. At present, the benefits include the G.I. Bill for providing funding for education, federal home loan guarantees, compensation for disabilities incurred or aggravated in the service and employment preference in competitive Civil Service Commission jobs.

Competitive examinations exist in all federal executive branch Civil Service positions except (a) positions which are specifically excepted from the competitive by or under statute; and (b) positions to which appointments made by nomination for confirmation by the Senate, unless the Senate otherwise directs. (5 U.S.C. 2102)

By virtue of this statute, the competitive examination procedure is in operation in all but certain high level white collar categories of employment. When an opening exists for a position covered by statute, each applicant takes the required examination which may consist of a written test, an interview or other means of assessment. Each applicant is then assigned a percentage point rating based on a combination of the exam and other factors which are usually not identified.

Preference eligibles with a passing score receive additional points as follows:

(a) Five points for veterans as defined below.

(b) Ten points for disabled veterans and survivors including unmarried widows of veterans and the mother of a war-time veteran who is either widowed or married to a totally disabled spouse. (5 U.S.C. 3309)

5 U.S.C. 2108 defines a "veteran" as one who has

(a) served on active duty in the armed forces during a war, in a campaign or expedition for which a campaign badge has been authorized or

(b) served on active duty at any time in the armed forces for a period of more than one-hundred-and-eighty consecutive days after January 1, 1955.

Included in the statute is anyone who has served as a member of the armed forces, including clerks, nurses and other combat positions.

A "disabled veteran" means an individual who served on active duty in the armed forces, has been separated therefrom under honorable conditions, and has established the present existence of a service-connected disability or is receiving compensation, disability retirement benefits or pension because of a public statute administered by the Veterans' Administration or a military department. (Sec. 3309, supra) There is no time limit for service imposed on disabled veterans, and the injury may have occurred or been aggravated in activity that is not related to military duty such as off duty sports.

The Denver Federal Executive Board/Federal Women's Program Committee (Denver Committee) study of the effects of the Veterans' Preference Act includes an example of the inadequacy of the disability preference point system:

> The Veterans' Administration determined that a (particular) veteran had sufficient service-connected hearing loss to receive compensation. Because he was receiving disability compensation, he qualified for the ten-point disability preference. He applied for a Telephone Operator position, reopening a closed register, and was placed at the top of the register because of his hearing disability. The employing agency decided that his hearing was insufficient to disqualify him for the position of Telephone Operator. Thus, this veteran received compensation and a ten-point preference because of a disability which did not, in fact, disable him for a position which required good hearing ability.

As in the Mare Island case, veterans' preference often results in exclusion of non-veterans from Civil Service jobs. However, 5 U.S.C. 3310 goes so far as to exclusively reserve examinations for guards, messengers, elevator operators, and custodians for preference eligibles as long as there are any available. While these jobs are at the bottom of the pay scale, they can serve as stepping stones to higher level positions.

For all other competitive service, 5 U.S.C. 3318 defines the hiring procedure:

> (a) The nominating or appointing authority shall select for appointment to each vacancy from the highest three eligibles available for appointment...unless objection to one or more of the individuals certified is made to, and sustained by, the Civil Service Commission or proper and adequate reasons under regulations prescribed by the Commission.
>
> (b) The Commission shall determine the sufficiency or insufficiency of the reasons submitted and send its findings to the appointing authority. The appointing authority shall comply with the findings of the Commission.

In ranking applicants for Civil Service jobs from the result of an examination, disabled veterans are placed in order of scores above other veterans and other veterans are listed ahead of non-preference applicants having the same rating. The upshot of Sec. 3318 is that it is extremely difficult for an agency to pass over one or more veterans to reach the name of a non-veteran it may prefer for the position.[32] It is almost impossible to pass over a disabled veteran. It is, therefore, no wonder that only veterans were granted interviews at Mare Island.

Even if it could be ascertained that the Civil Service Commission would honor most requests, many agency employers may be dissuaded from making the requests because of the time and effort involved. For instance, for a position requiring both written examination and an interview, it would be necessary to first examine each applicant. Then, all scores would be computed with additional points added for veterans. If there were twenty-five veterans placed above a top scoring non-veteran applicant the employer had ascertained as best suited for the position, he or she would be forced to interview and disqualify each veteran before he or she could "reach" the non-veteran. The time and energy involved in this endeavor could discourage the employer even if he or she had reason to believe the challenges might be successful.

Although there are no provisions in the Veterans' Preference Act which specifically exclude women, practically the law serves to do just that. Historically, women were excluded from the military until 1918. Between World War I and 1942, only nurses were allowed to enlist. From 1948 until 1967, no more than 2% of total armed forces personnel could, by law, be women.[33] In addition to the absolute limitations, until 1967, all branches of the military have imposed more stringent enlistment and appointment criteria for women. As a result, at present, women make up only a small percentage of a vast number of veterans.

Title VII and Veterans' Preference

In effect concurrently with the Veterans' Preference statutes is Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[34] Title VII prohibits discrimination by private employers of fifteen or more employees on the basis of race, color, national origin, religion or sex, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 extended Title VII to state and local governments.

Executive Order 11748 applied the equal employment opportunity criteria to the federal government:

> Sec. 1. It is the policy of the Government of the United States to provide equal opportunity in Federal employment for all persons, to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin and to promote the full realization of equal employment opportunity through a continuing affirmative program in each executive department and agency.
>
> Sec. 3. The Civil Service Commission shall provide leadership and guidance to departments and agencies in the conduct of equal employment opportunity programs for the civilian employees of and applicants for employment within the executive departments and agencies...

Particularly in the Mare Island example, it is quite obvious that the above EEO provisions conflict with the practical outcome of hiring within veterans' preference statutes. Sec. 712 of Title VII resolves this confusion in favor of veterans' preference, stating:

> Nothing contained in the Title shall be construed to repeal or modify any Federal, State, territorial or local law creating special rights or preferences for veterans.

Title VII case law now defines the parameters of equal employment opportunity. The leading case, Griggs v. Duke Power,[35] held that the effect rather than the intent of hiring practices was determinant of discrimination. It is clearly the case that the Civil Service Commission's hiring is hamstrung by veterans' preference.

While the Civil Service Commission is exempt from Title VII case law, it is, as stated, subject to Executive Order 11478. A booklet entitled U.S. Civil Service Commission Equal Employment Opportunity Action Plan for FY 1976 outlines EEO efforts; Mare Island published a comprehensive Equal Opportunity Affirmative Action Plan for Calendar Year 1975 which makes statements as follows:

> Policy
>
> It is the positive intention of the Department of the Navy that significantly out-of-balance representation of minorities is to be overcome in every occupation and level by the year 1981...
>
> All managers and supervisors must take positive action to insure that qualified minority personnel and qualified women are attracted to apply for all types and levels of jobs, particularly those in professional fields and apprentice programs, and are afforded equal consideration along with others.

How are the above policies to be achieved given the impediment of veterans' preference? Current statistics attest to the fact that such goals are far from realized, and there is no indication that the situation can or will change measurably in the future.

A Case Study of Two Women Seeking to Enter Nontraditional Employment

During 1976, many "qualified women", as solicited by the EEO guidelines, were attracted to apply for the apprentice program. Lois and Donna, residents of Sonoma County, were two women who participated in Advocates for Women's training program and who scored high on the exam.

Lois' rating, from the combination of her application and examination, was 100%, and Donna received 95%. In spite of having a perfect score, Lois was notified that she would not be interviewed. Because the unusually high number of applicants for 1976 included also a large number of veterans entitled to five or ten preference points, only people with scores of over 100% could be considered.

In response to the situation, Donna and Lois, along with other injured applicants and their supporters, contacted the media and held a demonstration on August 11, 1976, outside the gates of Mare Island. They demanded clarification and explanation of the scoring and interviewing procedures and a plan to remedy the injustice.

As a result of the demonstration, a press conference, coverage by local newspapers and major television and radio stations, and letters to elected officials, the Civil Service Commission responded with a plan to re-rank applicants. Along with extra points for veterans, the Civil Service Commission also added to appropriate scores what were termed "blue collar points" based on certain types of experience. Applicants were not informed as to what experience qualified.

Donna received five blue collar points (for unidentified experience), bringing her score up to 100%. However, in the long run, the revision actually hurt women since it added another one-hundred-eighty-seven veterans, mostly men, to the list above 100%. Donna and Lois were still eliminated, and in fact, non-veterans were not considered or hired at all.

CERTIFICATION LISTS FOR THE UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION, MARE ISLAND Naval Shipyard Apprenticeship Program 1976

	Original Quantity	Revised (with blue collar points)	Ratings
Veteran Women	7	8	7-100%, 1-110%
Veteran Men	558	87	110, 105, 100%
Non-Veteran Women	4	81	100%
Non-Veteran Men	96	468	100%

The San Francisco Commission on the Status of Women commented on the Mare Island event in a press release:

> The current situation...at Mare Island is deplorable. It makes the basic Affirmative Action Program with its goals and timetables a useless document. The Commission supports enforcement of both the Affirmative Action Plan and Federal Preference Regulations. We see no reason why the base could not interview women scoring 95 or above and/or extend the life of the list (for 1976) for another year.
>
> The second issue which disturbs us is the granting of additional points for past blue collar experience. Women have traditionally been discriminated against in seeking blue collar employment. The use of these blue collar points only serves to magnify the effects of past discrimination; and the combination of veterans' preference points and blue collar points combine to form an effective tool to bar access to apprenticeable trades by women at Mare Island.

The Civil Service Commission itself in a letter responding to an inquiry on the situation of Donna's case to Congressman Don H. Claussen, states:

> It is unfortunate that with increased interest women may not be more successful in gaining employment in what has only recently been recognized as an appropriate and desirable occupational area for them. We believe that this is primarily attributable to the operation of the Veterans' Preference Act and the increased number of applications which we received this year. Not only did the number of eligibles increase--but the number of veterans and very highly qualified veterans was more than twice as high this year as last year.

> We regret that this information could not be more conclusively favorable. We do plan a comprehensive and exhaustive review of the apprenticeship examination before it is reopened. It is our interest and intent as well as our responsibility that employment in the Federal competitive civil service be equally open to opportunity for all without regard to race, sex, or any other non-merit factor.

Another letter, this time from the Mare Island Shipyard commander, Captain J.K. Webber, outlines the Mare Island/Civil Service outreach efforts preceding the 1976 examination and encloses the Mare Island Federal Women's Program Policy Statement. The policy statement vigorously supports EEO efforts and ends with the comment, "until we work together to make EEO a reality, it will remain an unrealized goal."

It appears that no matter how diligently an arm of Civil Service pursues EEO, if enough veterans are among the competitors, non-veterans will be ultimately ignored. It is hardly sensible to spend the vast amounts of time and money for outreach, test preparation and examination for women if after apparent success, they are passed over for others less qualified.

Solutions to the Problem

Groups such as Advocates for Women, Advocates for Non-Veterans Employment Rights (ANVER) and the San Francisco Commission on the Status of Women have considered a range of solutions to the clash of the Veterans' Preference Act and EEO standards, particularly as they affect women.

Given judicial precedent and the emotional impact of the veterans' preference issue in a post-war economy beset with unemployment, judicial route appears unlikely. An attempt to modify veterans' preference through the courts would be likely to end in a damaging reaffirmation of the present laws and policies.

To date, courts have almost uniformly supported veterans' preference. A New York court in Rubin v. Conway,[36] commented:

> Although any preference is repugnant to the theory of civil service, veterans' preference is justified equitably and morally by the sacrifice and disruption of normal civilian life which accompanies full-time military service.

Cases contemporary with Rubin including the Supreme Court decision in Mitchel v. Cohen,[37] and several decided since have affirmed.

The 1976 case of Anthony v. Commonwealth of Massachusetts et al.[38] is a step in the right direction. The three-judge federal district court decided in favor of the plaintiffs as a result of an argument based on Fourteenth Amendment equal protections grounds that the Massachusetts veteran preference standards prevented women from Civil Service appointments.

The court commented on the history of a scant number of women in the military and concluded:

> Theoretically, women are not barred from qualifying as preferred veterans. Yet (Massachusett's) formula's impact, triggered by decades of restrictive federal enlistment regulations, makes the operation of the Veterans' Preference in Massachusetts anything but an impartial, neutral policy of selection, with merely an incidental effect on the opportunities for women. Nothing in the Massachusetts scheme prohibits women from competing for civil service positions. But the practical consequence of the operation of these federal military proscriptions, in combination with the Veterans' Preference formula, is inescapable. Few women will ever become veterans so as to qualify for the preference; and so, few, if any, women will ever achieve a top position on a civil service eligibility list, for other than positions traditionally held by women.

The Massachusetts decision is maverick judicial precedent as far as the use of an Equal Protection standard. The language in the case could be applied to a similar action challenging the federal Civil Service system. The United States Supreme Court, however, could affirm Anthony without changing federal law at all.

Massachusetts was the last state to employ a system of absolute preference for veterans in its state Civil Service system. The list of all individuals having passed an examination was ranked as follows:

1. disabled veterans in order of scores
2. other veterans in order of scores
3. widows and widowed of veterans in order of scores
4. all other eligibles in order of scores

Thus, a veteran with a 70% rating could outrank a non-veteran with a 90% rating.

The Anthony court focused on the absolute nature of Massachusetts' system in striking the statute and, in fact, suggested the federal system as a substitute:

> Despite its troublesome impact on the women of this Commonwealth, the operation of the Massachusetts Veterans' Preference formula might escape constitutional rejection if it were the only means by which the state could implement a program of veterans' assistance in the area of public employment. But the fact is that there are alternatives available to the state to achieve its purpose of aiding veterans, without doing so at the singular expense of another identifiable class, its women.
>
> For example, a point system could be established designed to offer some reward for length of service in the armed forces/or to recognize particular abilities and skills likely to have been acquired as a result of military service.[39]

It footnotes that the federal Civil Service system operates on this principle, indicating support for that point system. It goes on to offer a more meaningful solution: "A time limit for exercising the preference could also be established so as to tailor its use to those who have shortly returned to civilian life."[40]

As Massachusetts' veterans' preference statute discriminated against women, so the federal provisions continue to discriminate today. Public policy arguments have validity in the case of disabled veterans whose injury grew out of national service, especially involuntary service. Such arguments perhaps also have validity for a young man leaving the service after involuntary induction as the result of the draft. But do they have validity for members of a volunteer army.

Also, it may be argued that a newly discharged veteran deserves a break on his first job. It remains in question whether he deserves the same break on the second, third and fourth jobs. Should he receive preferential promotion and layoff treatment based not on merit but on the fact that he served in the military some years before.

None of the above is to question other veterans' benefits. The soldier injured in non-combat activity should still be entitled to the equivalent of workmen's compensation in private industry; home loan benefits and the G.I. Bill for education are aids to ex-military that do not injure other groups and should thus be continued.

To equalize the federal job market, veterans' preference must be restructured. Extra points for affirmative action are not the answer. The result is likely to be similar to that of the addition of blue collar points in the Mare Island situation.

Federal veterans' preference must undergo legislative change at least as far reaching as that recently implemented by ballot proposition and legislative change in June, 1976, for Civil Service positions in the city of San Francisco. San Francisco's new regulations eliminated promotional points, and set a ten-year limitation on the use of entry points. Thus, a veteran would be eligible for preferential treatment for ten years after discharge. The law, in addition, retroactively eliminates points for those entering the Volunteer Army in 1973. In actuality, therefore, points will only be in use for veterans discharged by 1982. Finally, veterans' preference was extended to all military veterans discharged for other than dishonorable reasons.

San Francisco's regulations now distinguish somewhat between peacetime and wartime veterans. They also distinguish in effect between draftees and enlistees, and impose a time limit on the usage of points so that a veteran might be amply aided in breaking into the employment market after discharge, but not retain preferential status forever. Even with San Francisco's changes, women will continue to be at a great disadvantage until 1982. Ideal legislative change would provide for an interim system in operation during the period of phase-out of preference points. An equitable solution is to separate lists, one for veterans and one for non-veterans. In cases such as Mare Island in which many job openings existed, a certain percentage of employees would be drawn from high-scoring names on each list with care taken to satisfy EEO standards. Where only one job opening occurs at a time, the lists could be tapped alternatively.

Restructuring of disabled veterans' preference points is also necessary. A first step would be to distinguish between injuries occurring in or aggravated by combat or at least job-related situations. No longer should veterans receive ten-point preference for football injuries.

Only with implementation of at least the provisions arrived at by the city of San Francisco can the United States Civil Service EEO standards begin to materialize in reality, and steps can be taken to fully integrate women into job categories previously denied them. At that time, perhaps Lois and Donna can benefit from programs such as that at Mare Island.

Postscript

The November 1, 1976, issue of the Federal Times carried the following article entitled, "Job Preference Points Fade Out for New GI's":

> The five-point preference for former GI's seeking civil service jobs or trying to hold onto their federal positions during reductions in force has been eliminated for those people entering military service after October 15, 1976.
>
> The bill, signed by President Ford October 15, does, however, preserve the ten-point preference for disabled veterans.
>
> The new law is expected to have far-reaching ramifications for federal employment, say Civil Service Commission officials, who add that women ultimately will benefit from the action.
>
> 'Women definitely will get a break with this law. In the coming years fewer and fewer men will be eligible for the five-point credit and this will lead to a reduction in the number of former GI's seeking government jobs. Thus, women will better be able to compete with men for civil service jobs at the federal level,' a CSC official said.
>
> Under the new law, veterans who have more than 180 days of continuous military service during the period January 31, 1955 to October 15, 1976 automatically are credited with the five-point preference.
>
> After October 15, no GI may be credited with the five points unless he or she is involved in a conflict or campaign officially certified by the Defense Department as deserving the preference, a CSC spokesman explained.
>
> Such military actions as the Mayaguez crew rescue would fall into the category of legitimate combat service for the purposes of receiving the job preference, he asserted.
>
> The new law is expected also to affect the job security of the average federal worker.
>
> In the future, there will be fewer employees on a percentage basis who will be protected by the five-point job retention preference when reductions in force occur.
>
> Veterans groups supported the legislation on the grounds that simple military service should not be the basis for job preference. They argued that the original veterans law envisioned benefits going mainly to those who served the country in times of war.

The new law also makes it easier for handicapped veterans to get on-the-job training from the Veterans Administration, which was prevented under the Fair Labor Standards Act from extending OJT to this group because of a shortage of facilities and funds.

Under the FLSA, the agency was required to pay the minimum wage to these veterans and the training could not take place at federal facilities.

The new GI Bill, signed by Mr. Ford October 15, lifts that minimum wage requirement and allows VA to use federal facilities for the OJT training.

Footnotes

1. See, e.g., Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. sec. 2000e to -12 and the October 18, 1976, orders of the Industrial Welfare Commission on wages and work standards.

2. Chafe, William H., The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic and Political Roles, 1920-1970, p. 124. See also, statement by Marjorie Longwell, National Chairwoman, National Woman's Party, in edited transcript of Assembly Committee on Labor Relations Public Hearing on California's Protective Labor Laws for Women, Thursday, February 26, 1970.

3. Baker, Elizabeth Faulkner, "Protective Labor Legislation: With Special Reference to Women in the State of New York," in Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, ed., The Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, Vol. CXVI, 1925, p. 446.

4. *Ibid*., p. 445.

5. Womanpower, A Statement by the National Manpower Council with Chapters by the Council Staff, New York, 1957, p. 334.

6. Detroit News, November 18, 1944, page unknown. Statistics republished in Tobias and Anderson, "What Really Happened to Rosie the Riveter?", Demobilization and the Female Labor Force, 1944-47, MSS Modular Publications, Inc., New York, 1974, pp. M9-16.

7. The Selective Service Act, September 16, 1940, U.S. Congress, Public Laws, Vol. 54, Part I, p. 890.

8. 42 U.S.C. sec. 2000e to -12.

9. Rosenfeld v. Southern Pacific Company, 444 F.2d 1219 (1971).

10. Schaeffer v. San Diego Yellow Cabs, Inc., 462 F.2d 1002 (1972).

11. The Officers for Justice et al. v. The Civil Service Commission of the City and County of San Francisco, Civil no. C-73-0657RFP (N.D.Cal.), memorandum and order dated May 2, 1975.

12. Griggs v. Duke Power Co., 401 U.S. 424 (1971).

13. Advocates for Women v. Ussery.

14. 20 U.S.C. 168.

15. 29 U.S.C. 201-19 (1964).

16. AB 3676 (1976).

17. 293 F.Supp. 1219 (1968), aff. 44 F.2d 1219, appeal after remand 519 F.2d 527.

18. Cal. Labor Code sec. 1250 et seq.

19. AB 3365 (11.76 '76).

20. SB 1051 and SB 1642 (11.95 '76).

21. AB 3729.

22. AB 3595.

23. 29 U.S.C. 651 et seq.

24. Cal. Labor Code sec. 6300 et seq.

25. Toxic Substance List published by National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health.

26. Cal. Civil Code sec. 700, 5130-5132.

27. Cal. Labor Code sec. 1410-1433 (West 1971).

28. Sail'er Inn v. Kirby, 5 Cal.3d 1, 485 P.2d 529 (1971).

29. San Francisco Chronicle, February 9, 1976, p. 37.

30. This section is primarily devoted to a discussion of veterans' preference in the United States Civil Service Commission. References to "Civil Service" indicate the federal system. In addition, most state and local governments utilize some form of preferential employment for veterans.

31. We are here concerned primarily with employment at the stage of hiring. However, account should be taken of the fact that veterans' preference is in operation at all stages of the employment process. It influences promotions, layoffs and rehiring, as well as initial employment.

32. The Denver Committee reports somewhat differently on the "impossibility" of passing over a veteran. "There were 39 requests to the Civil Service Commission to pass over a veteran, of which 34 were approved. The requests came from only 17 of the 65 reporting agencies; many of the agencies with heavy recruitment activity did not file requests. Apparently most agencies mistakenly believe that it is futile to request authority to pass over veterans." (p. 11)

33. 10 U.S.C. 3209, repealed by Act of November 8, 1967, Pub. L. No. 90-130 1(9)(E), 81 Stat. 375; 10 U.S.C. 3215, repealed by Act of November 8, 1967, Pub. L. No. 90-130 1(9)(H), 81 Stat. 375; 10 U.S.C. 5410, repealed by Act of November 8, 1967, Pub. L. No. 90-130 1(16), 81 Stat. 376; 10 U.S.C. 8208 repealed by Act of November 8, 1967, Pub. L. No. 90-130 1(26)(C), 81 Stat. 382; 10 U.S.C. 8215, repealed by Act of November 8, 1967, Pub. L. No. 90-130 1(26)(C),(F), 81 Stat. 382.

34. U.S.C. 42, Sec. 20002 as amended by Public Law 92-261.

35. 401 U.S. 424.

36. 79 NYS 2nd 226, 83 N.E.2d 13 (1948).

37. 68 U.S.C. 518, 333 U.S. 441 (1948).

38. 12 FEP 10,991, pp. 4642-3.

39. Anthony, p. 4649.

40. Ibid.

6. Institutional Barriers to Women Entering Nontraditional Employment

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INTRODUCTION

Among the barriers to women entering nontraditional employment, which we seek to identify, are those found in the areas of union involvement and training accessibility. Given the magnitude and complexity of these topics, as well as our decision to focus on the experiences of women seeking to enter nontraditional jobs, we have not undertaken a detailed analysis of these problem areas. What we have done is survey the availability of training in two major California cities and utilize our interviews with the women, instructors, agency personnel, union officials, and male co-workers to delineate some of the difficulties facing women within the union movement. It is important to understand at least the parameters of these issues since they loom large in the experience of many of the women we interviewed, and they are also commonly acknowledged sources of resistance to women entering nontraditional careers. We must also recognize that no prior research has attempted an exploration of these phenomena as they relate to agencies serving women.

Although we look at two training institutions in our assessment of program effectiveness, it is clear that we need to include an overview of training availability in the various target areas to surface a wider variety of barriers. This section additionally underscores the extensiveness of one of our study's central concerns: the unwillingness of so many institutions to assume any substantial responsibility for helping women gain access to nontraditional employment.

UNIONS

Introduction

Delineating the responsibilities of unions toward assisting women into nontraditional employment is not going to be an easy task for organized labor. Until recently, few unions were willing even to acknowledge this responsibility. During the past few years, however, unions, like employers, have been under increasing pressure--

the courts have been inclined to broadly interpret responsibility to assist women as well as minorities. Groups of union women, such as C.L.U.W. and Union W.A.G.E., have begun to mobilize women within the union movement to obtain equal rights. The California Apprenticeship Council (CAC) voted to include women in the affirmative action plan for the apprenticeable trades, despite stout resistance by many employers and trade union men alike. This action was taken, however, at least partially as a result of a vigorous campaign waged by women seeking to enter those trades and by representatives of the Women in Apprenticeship Program.

Despite the pressures, however, women are still at a disadvantage within the unions and, judging from our respondents, do not look upon the union as a real source of assistance and encouragement. It is also the case that the gains of the past few years will receive a setback if the Department of Labor persists in revising the guidelines for affirmative action and contract compliance so as to reduce sanctions. By the same token, implementation of most affirmative action programs within the unions has, at best, been extremely slow. Most unions have refused to take active steps until and unless a law suit has forced them to do so. The recent CAC ruling noted above requires that goals and timetables for women's entrance into apprenticeships be set by the Joint Apprenticeship Councils (JAC) throughout the state. Unless concerted action is taken, however, implementation will be hindered by the lack of a common, well-documented and formulated method for determining those goals and timetables.

Women Find Unions Wanting

Whereas union men typically deny any responsibility for assisting women, our respondents make it patently obvious that much of their sense of isolation and alienation associated with union involvement derives from the attitudes of their male colleagues. Time and again, we were told stories of women's experiences at the hiring halls, and how much they resent the treatment they received. Complaints enumerated ranged from rudeness and catcalls to real verbal abuse. Many women feel they are being toyed with--agents tell them that no jobs exist but they see for themselves that there are men on the job who did not place as high on the lists as they did. One woman even told us that she had been informed that it was necessary to pay the agent to get the job. Others talked about receiving misleading information or none that was appropriate for their needs. When asked about union participation, many women reported that they avoid meetings. Some are overtly hostile to any involvement and want to start their own union, or at least a woman's caucus. The few women we found who spoke well of their union invariably have husbands who are active union members and who are the main impetus for their positive experiences. Given the frequency of negative reactions, it is obviously necessary to win the confidence of women already in unions as well as to attract new members. We cannot identify much being done by unions, however, to rectify the situation.

Whose Job Is It?

One of the basic problems is, of course, whether unions will undertake an active affirmative action role. Currently, several unions are under court order to take such a step toward equality for women, but many more remain in the wings. One wonders what degree of commitment will characterize programs aimed at assisting women when they are legally determined. Certainly much remains to be done. Although several kinds of affirmative action plans have been devised, the number and variety of unions means that there are many variables involved in assessing what needs to be done where. Union contracts must be revised, and, in the process, unions must come to grips with such problems as differential retirement ages, differing benefits in health and welfare plans, sex-segregated jobs and wage schedules, and other evidences of institutionalized sex differentials. So great are the difficulties that it seems imperative that efforts be made to carefully delineate these issues in order to formulate changes and modifications and institute new procedures.

A perfect case in point concerns women in the apprenticeable trades. Currently, goals and timetables are being set by the individual Joint Apprenticeship Councils, and our information indicates that methods for determining interest and availability--on which the goals and timetables are to be based--will undoubtedly differ from one JAC to another. No clear methodology has been devised, nor has research been conducted to establish a common formula to be used. There is obvious need for this to be done, but it is highly dubious that a clear responsibility to assure its occurrence will be assumed by any group involved in the process. As a result, the necessary work will be undertaken only if the state or federal government is willing to underwrite or otherwise mobilize its resources to do so. Otherwise, major responsibility will, as usual, revert to those who already have an enormous uphill battle to wage--the women themselves.

Assuring Women's Participation

Through the work of C.L.U.W. and Union W.A.G.E., more and more women are learning about the structure and operation of unions and how they can best participate to ensure a voice for themselves. The California Labor Federation, in addition, recently sponsored meetings to address some of the problems of women in unions. There remains a long, arduous task, however, for these groups--to organize and recruit women in unions representing nontraditional employment. It is so frequently the case that there is only one or two women in any given nontraditional job setting, and that solidarity in numbers is merely a dream at best. Many of the women to whom we spoke surely recognize the need for participation in union affairs, or at least understand the need to organize by women for women. One veteran of the three-year push for CAC approval of a women's affirmative action program told us that, in her experience, unions have been so reluctant to cooperate that any gains will have to be won by women. This sentiment was echoed in a variety of ways in other interviews: women who felt that unions were so hostile that the only solution would be to start a women's union; teachers and job developers who agreed that only by organized action would unions let women in, and even then it would probably be difficult. A union representative summed up, finally, what many of the people we spoke with feel:

> Unions can't stand to be sued time and time again. Nobody wants the federal government to come in and run an apprenticeship program. It's been a killer for the electricians; a killer for the operating engineers,...and the other unions are very much aware that these things are happening so they're starting to make amends and clear up their ways of bringing women into the programs. The tougher unions are probably going to give women a chance. If a business agent or a dispatcher decides he doesn't want women in, he's probably going to let them in and send them to stink-o jobs, and how do you overcome that? I don't know. If any local doesn't want women in, and they have to comply because they don't want to get sued, there's a way for them to bring women in and do their darndest to make it so miserable for them that they'll never work. Any employer can do that, too; there's no difference. I'm convinced it all boils down to education--if you can educate the employers and the locals that women have every much as right to those jobs and are every bit as capable, then you can go....Education is the key thing, and I think it's coming around a bit, especially when you educate them by slapping them with an injunction.

This union official, like others we talked to, is aware of the problems and of the needs. He acknowledges that no one is really going to act, unless forced to do so. He knows that even with laws, regulations, compliance orders, and all the other paraphernalia of government, many unions will still find ways to give women a very hard time. At the same time, there is recognition that an educational campaign can help many face the inevitable. Some union men even spoke with us about the lessons learned from attempts to keep minorities out of the union movement. As a result of unwillingness to confront this issue, union membership had dropped remarkably. Unions sometimes were weakened to the point of collapse. Resistance to minority participation remains a substantial problem. With the present trend adding women to the numbers aspiring to move in new directions, the unions have an opportunity to move with the tide. It is questionable whether unions will learn from the past. More than likely it will be left to the women to carve out a place for themselves as has been necessary in many analogous situations.

There is here also an opportunity for the state and federal governments to encourage more research and educational projects which will assist both unions and employers to assess their needs and take action to meet the challenges of the day. Of particular urgency are programs designed to help implement affirmative action plans and technical assistance programs aimed at educating key personnel to the needs and capabilities of women.

TRAINING

Overview

Currently, about half of the 6.4 million women enrolled in public vocational education programs are in homemaking courses. Almost one third are in secretarial or other office programs, and 14% are scattered in other traditionally women's courses. Only about 8% are enrolled in courses dominated by men.[1] While these are national figures, the pattern in California is similar. Whatever training facility we visited, the findings were amazingly consistent--for each "nontraditional" training course, there were usually no more than three women and, more frequently, even less. Time and again, we heard administrators point to a class which included those three women and exclaim over the "improvement" in women's enrollment. We visited places, repeatedly, that did not even know how many women were enrolled in courses typically pursued by men.

It was painfully evident that, whatever the results of affirmative action in the workplace, there had certainly been none in the training place. Business here is as usual, and the woman seeking to enter most of the training institutions under our purview had best be extremely motivated and assertive for she will undoubtedly not have an easy time. Even worse, there may simply be no training for her--long waiting lists are omnipresent, as are admission procedures which discourage even the very determined. The summary which follows will give some indication of the many barriers existing to prevent women from entering training which would give them access to nontraditional employment.

Training in Target Area I

Introduction. One of our target metropolitan areas contains an elaborate array of training programs which are publicly funded either through state, federal, or local sources. They are roughly divided among the community college district, the school districts, and CETA funded programs. Regional Occupational Programs (ROP) and Regional Occupational Centers (ROC) are coordinated through their parent organization, the local unified school district, and, in addition, there is coordination among the various community adult schools and Regional Occupational Centers. Given the wide geographical spread of both the community college district and the local school district, it is difficult to separate out what is peculiar to the city under our purview.

Programs are almost always designed for the entire area, and most often specific centers offer specialized training not readily available at another location either within the Regional Occupational Centers or the junior colleges. For our purposes, we were concerned primarily with programs actually located in the city proper and interviewed a number of staff, teachers, administrators, and some students. We sought to determine, in general, how programs operate to assist women gain entry to nontraditional jobs, and what policies have been adopted which would be significant for the training of women.

Regional Occupational Centers and Programs. These programs are coordinated to allow maximum use of facilities, personnel, and course offerings by adults and high school students. The ROP conducts classes in a variety of settings, ranging from local school sites to special industry programs and non-school sites. Each ROC provides a variety of training courses, with some specialty branch locations and some specialization within each center. Although both the centers and the ROP offer classes to adults and high school students, there is a heavier concentration of the latter within the ROP's.

Regional Occupational Programs Career Planning Materials--A Model to Adopt. The ROP does, in fact, offer a range of career education materials and counseling personnel at each participating high school. An attempt is made to provide students with the information and assistance they require to make career choices. In comparison to other programs visited, the ROC's/ROP's in this city furnished the most extensive array of materials describing careers that we observed.

Of particular interest to us, is the fact that career brochures consistently portray women in nontraditional roles; all materials have obviously been designed specifically to avoid sexual stereotyping; and several publications contain articles testifying to the success of women entering nontraditional employment through training programs offered by the ROC's/ROP's. In our estimation, these materials could easily be adapted for use in other areas and in other programs. They provide specific information on job qualifications, trends in that particular occupation, and means to identify one's capabilities and interest for that occupation. In the hands of a good counselor, they would be an invaluable tool in disseminating the kind of specific career information which many women--and men as well--are usually unable to obtain. Since these materials--and the program itself--are fairly recent developments, there is no meaningful way of assessing their effectiveness to date in assisting young women to broaden their career horizons. On the basis of what we have heard from many of the women we have interviewed, however, this type of career information is sorely needed.

The Problems Relating to CETA. The ROC's draw their students from a variety of sources. Some students come directly from the high school; there is a veterans' outreach program; WIN program enrollees come for training; and the centers maintain contact with a wide variety of community programs involved in career guidance and placement. There is, on the other hand, no formal relationship in adult education within the school system and the CETA program. Several staff members we interviewed spoke about the reasons for not working with the CETA program:

> There is a controversy between the...city schools and CETA. When MDTA went out and CETA came in, the county and city decided they had the opportunity to take money and get equipment. They (CETA) reneged on their promises to us and set up their own schools, but they find that it is hard to set up schools like this, and with what it cost them in time and paperwork, the business wasn't as lucrative as they thought.

Another informant stated that CETA:

> ...closed down the skills centers and gave the money to outside people. These people would then take the money and tell us that we would get it if we did the things they wanted done. They wanted us to handle the service, the paperwork, and it took too much staff time....There was too much paperwork with CETA and they were always sending monitors.

There was unanimous complaining among staff about the difficulties in responding to the needs of CETA while at the same time maintaining their methods of designing courses and following their own administrative procedures. It is felt that superimposing another set of standards onto policies and procedures believed to be adequate causes administrative chaos.

Another source of dissention is the fact that CETA referrals come in on a stipend while most of the students at the skills centers are there voluntarily. Some staff maintain that individuals on stipends will abuse the privilege. As one administrator put it, "Why go looking for a job when you have money coming in?...It's easier than going out to compete for a job."

It is just this way of thinking which often prevents women from gaining access to training, particularly women who are single heads of household and may desperately need the money to support their families. While undoubtedly there can be a problem with abuse of stipends, we have heard many counselors say that careful screening and placement assistance after training help eliminate that problem. One administrator claimed that single mothers had a disincentive to go out and look for jobs when child care is furnished with the training. We have found no evidence to support such a conclusion, and, in fact, most of the women whom we interviewed indicated that lack of quality child care is a major problem for them. They are often impeded in their job search by inability to pay babysitters and the lack of adequate daycare facilities. It is particularly distressing to find such consistently negative attitudes toward women among administrators holding key policy making positions. It is difficult to envision how women clients can possibly be effectively served in such an atmosphere. The chance of special programs being initiated to truly meet women's needs is clearly out of the question.

While we have sympathies with the difficulties faced in keeping two sets of records and in dealing with abuse of privilege of CETA-paid training slots, it is dismaying to discover that the most extensive skills training facility in the state of California has found it necessary to reject federally-funded programs. This phenomenon is particularly glaring when one considers that CETA was presumably designed to assist the disadvantaged in upgrading their skills and locating employment to allow them to become fully self-supporting. The duplication of effort has obviously worked to the disadvantage of those whom the CETA program should serve, and it seems obvious that steps need to be taken so the situation does not persist. It is quite unfortunate that in this city, as elsewhere, cooperation between various government programs is often undermined by the inability of various bureaucracies to agree on uniform data-gathering and reporting procedures.

Efficiency or Waste. Some of the motives that seem to have led to a rejection of CETA by the local schools in this area have, regrettably, also precluded any serious attention to the needs of women entering nontraditional training. Whereas a substantial number of women are enrolled in skills training, almost all of them are currently in fields traditionally entered by women. We found but a small scattering of women in any of the nontraditional course offerings. The policies of the centers seem to preclude any consideration of women's special needs. The skills centers--and all skills training--are designed to meet the needs of employers in the metropolitan area. Each skills cluster has an advisory council to oversee the course offerings, and classes are added and dropped according to current market needs as determined by the councils and by labor-market analyses. The structure of classes functions to move the student through as efficiently as possible and out into a job. The priorities are to utilize training as efficiently as possible to meet the needs of the area's job market. While these are pragmatic goals with which their system is having more success, perhaps, than any other in the state, it seems to mitigate against any priority for the needs of the students.

Counselors, administrators and teachers alike speak of the necessity for "quality" students--students who know exactly what they want, who need a minimum of assistance, and who have the resources to allow them to attend their classes either with a part-time job or with financial assistance for which the school has no responsibility. The demands of efficiency dictate slotting the student as routinely as possible. Procedures testing aptitude and personality are utilized regularly, but this may actually encourage women to remain in stereotyped roles. As one counselor said of their personality test:

> It helps channel people; like people with strong introversion scores might be better off in an office setting. I prescribe it to women more than I do to men.

It is simply assumed that the introverted woman will function best as a clerk or typist. Many of the so-called introverted women we interviewed, however, actually find greater satisfaction in some of the skilled trade jobs for the very reason that there is limited interaction required.

The same concern with efficiency, which encourages reliance on testing, equally discourages the use of counseling to assist the woman who is undecided. One of the women counselors with whom we talked said that she:

> ...would definitely establish group counseling. You would take your own needs and find out what stops you. Along with that I'd have a vocational program and child care.

She sees a real need to combat the alienation of the women she deals with as well as the negative effects of the institution's impersonality. It is conceivable that this kind of counseling can be incorporated into the processes of the centers with a minimum of additional expenditure of funds.

It seems unlikely, however, that priorities will be reordered until and unless the system adopts a specific policy with regards to the special needs of women entering nontraditional employment. As it stands now, most of the counselors and administrators maintain that responsibility for the problem lies exclusively with the women themselves. "They have to get over their own traditional hang-ups." While the administration maintains that "the whole women's movement is on our minds," they have yet to even assess what is or is not being done at the centers to address the problem.

The Trade College. While the various community colleges in the district offer training in fields not traditionally entered by women, by far the greatest aggregation of course offerings in these areas is available at one central city school. There, a curriculum has been developed to cover the trade and technical vocations, and students are drawn from throughout the metropolitan area who are specifically interested in pursuing a career in the trades or in the technologically-oriented fields. Primarily as a result of its location, the student population tends to be heavily minority, with approximately 55% Black and 25% Spanish surnamed students.

Many students work part-time, and they are encouraged to obtain jobs in the field which they are studying. A student placement center as well as instructors assist them in securing this kind of work experience. As at the skills centers, each department has an advisory board made up of representatives from the industry, labor, and community who are expected to help set priorities and to promote close ties between the school and that industry.

Like most trade schools, this one is geared to the needs of the industries and labor market for which their courses offer training. As a result, they depend upon a traditional structure to attract students to the school and get them through the process in an orderly manner. When the prospective student arrives, he or she is asked what course of study is desired. If a preference is expressed immediately, the student is given a battery of tests to determine whether or not he or she has the requisite aptitude and capabilities. Testing is elaborate, but we were also told by a number of counselors that they do not entirely rely on the tests--students are permitted to take assistance classes if they still want to pursue that skill. Students must also pass an oral interview with representatives of the counseling and teaching staffs. According to staff members, this committee considers such qualifications as health, age, work experience, and past training. We would hope, however, that their deliberations are not so limited, and that they will consider people who may not have relevant experience or training, as almost all women would be automatically screened out on those bases alone.

Students who do not have a firm sense of career direction when they enter are given the catalogue and told to select some possibilities. If they wish, they can be tested in two different areas to help them in making a determination, but there is no other real career decision assistance from counselors. Counselors are assigned to different areas of expertise in terms of trade offerings, and entering students talk to counselors depending on their interests. The college relies heavily upon the student to make his or her decisions prior to entry, a procedure which is likely to maintain the status quo.

To attract this kind of student, a full-time counselor is assigned to make presentations at high schools in the area. Each year, in addition, the college puts on a week-long trade fair, complete with booths and demonstrations of what each department includes. We had an opportunity to see the fair, and were encouraged by the possibilities that it offers. Students from surrounding high schools have an opportunity to hear about the trades and to take a guided tour of the campus (they have recently eliminated separate tours for men and women). Students at the college itself also cannot help but become more aware since the fair occupies much time, effort, and space over a fairly long period of time. We did note that the educational materials prepared for each trade cluster did not show pictures of women, nor were there real efforts to eliminate sex-biased language in the brochures.

During the course of our interviews at the school, it became clear that while the college offers a wide range of training, many staff believe that one of the main reasons why women are found in so few nontraditional training courses is primarily a consequence of conservative administrative policies. Many spoke of the hope that the recently instituted Title IX coordinator will be able to recommend changes. Unfortunately, the committee had yet to be appointed and the coordinator had only begun her work. We hope that she and the committee will consider such problems as intake procedures, composition of interviewing committees, and a center for women in the trade occupations--as well as a woman's center for the entire campus.

What is needed is full administrative and departmental cooperation with these efforts and not a grudging acknowledgement. The plans that result from this new planning phase will be only as good as is the commitment of everyone to their implementation. With only 30% women in the school now, and most of those in traditional women's trades, it will take both time and energy to accomplish any substantive changes.

Training in Target Area II

In the second metropolitan area of our inquiry, all adult vocational training classes, apart from high priced private training schools and a few CETA funded training projects, come under the auspices of the local community college district. In order to obtain training in preparation for a nontraditional occupation, a woman must either go through the city college or one of seven community college centers.

The local city college is tuition-free to any California resident. It offers an AA degree, training for the profession, and training in semi-professional fields. The degree curricula include such nontraditional choices for women as aircraft maintenance technology, automotive technology, engineering and industrial technologies, and many more.

The general catalogue for 1975/76 states:

> ...as a student at city college, you receive individual guidance from your counselor. Your instructors too, advise and help you. Through its counseling program, the college helps you choose an occupation, plan a program of study based on your interests, abilities, and needs...

Given that there are but a handful of women in any of the nontraditional courses, one wonders whether this kind of counseling ever occurs. Our interviews with the career and guidance counselors do not show that women students are advised of the range of nontraditional occupations, and it seems obvious women are not being counseled into them. Like many educational institutions, this one is large and impersonal, and students have very little contact with counselors. Counseling typically consists of signing forms and allowing courses to be added and/or dropped.

There is a program specifically designed for re-entry women, but we found little evidence that this serves as a meaningful introduction to nontraditional employment. The counseling staff displayed limited knowledge about the nontraditional courses offered and claimed that 90% of the women came in determined to study nursing. We asked whether training for nontraditional jobs was presented as an option. "Sure, but I don't push. It's a matter of ethics--if she wants nursing, I wouldn't feel right about suggesting something else." Since it appeared that most of the counselors--whether in career and guidance or re-entry programs--did not even have a full range of information about career choices, it was unrealistic to expect that they had given much thought to their role in expanding women's employment options. One counselor asked us to assist her in identifying fields to be included in a workshop she was planning, and left it for us to answer the key question: "What do women want?"

With this lack of education and support from the counseling component of the college and no evidence of commitment from the top administration, there is little opportunity for women to become acquainted with skills training for nontraditional employment.

The Community College Centers. There are seven separate centers within the community college district, each of which has satellite classes located throughout the city. Vocational training is offered primarily at two of the facilities, and thus, most preparation of women for nontraditional employment takes place at those centers. The other five centers offer "hobby courses" or "how to courses" which are relatively easy to get into and are not part of an occupational training course.

A person may call the community college district office or one of the seven college centers for a list of course offerings and entrance requirements. Despite this seemingly uncomplicated arrangement, many barriers to a woman's pursuit of a nontraditional career are inherent in the process. Most of the vocational training courses have long waiting lists, and women are often discouraged both by application procedures and by the difficulty in acquiring information. It took us weeks of tracking down administrators to piece together the steps whereby a woman might gain entrance into one of the programs. Since there is no central information and referral point, obtaining complete and accurate data is dependent on numerous telephone calls. One must be extremely persistent because almost invariably the individuals answering telephones in the center offices are, at best, marginally helpful.

To gain admission to the skills center, a woman enters either as a CETA student through the city's CETA funded branch of EDD, or as a community college district student. Whether a CETA-eligible student is aware of that status is often a matter of chance. There is no automatic consideration of CETA eligibility during the process. A woman who goes to the CETA office must directly and cogently express her desire to acquire skills training and be willing to press her case. If she does not avidly pursue her goal, her application will undoubtedly merely be filed along with thousands of others.

CETA's EDD office has the responsibility for referring CETA participants to the skills center as well as helping to place students who have completed their training.

Nothing we observed or heard indicated that this is, in fact, the case. The problem, as described by CETA personnel, primarily results from the limited availability of training.

> In the first six months of this fiscal year (1976) we took over 3600 applications for training; that many people came and were talked to by one of the two receptionists because the rest of my intake staff is fully engaged. The receptionist would encourage you to review the list that is posted on the reception counter with courses offered at the skills center....When you have that kind of numbers coming in you can't do individual counseling. During that same period, I would estimate that well under 300 training slots were available for recruitment directly from the CETA office.

Whatever the reasons, the statistics remain grim. The twenty respondents from the centers represent almost all the women to have completed those classes in the past year-and-a-half. It is also the fact that not one of these women got into the class without aggressively asserting her right to do so. Whether the women come to the training by direct entry into the college or through CETA and other programs, for the most part they do so largely without the benefits of active assistance or encouragement.

There is a Community College Career Guidance Center which is open to any local resident. Several occupational interest and aptitude tests are administered; individual counseling is provided; and there is a library with rather extensive materials. The availability of all these resources, however, is all rather incidental given the reality of the situation. Counselors who present nontraditional employment to women seem to highlight the negative aspects while doing so. In many cases, there is no effort to pose alternatives to women job seekers. Counselors and instructors justify this oversight by explaining that even trained women cannot be placed in jobs.

Placement. While the CETA staff technically has responsibility for placing CETA students, they defer to the centers' instructors who have contacts in the field. The instructors told us, however, that they cannot make placements in the automotive field and blame it on the local labor situation.

> We make it very realistic to them, the fact that this is a union town...for a woman to crack into the trades it's very difficult because the trades are protective of their membership...

We were asked frequently by staff what was the point of their pushing women into nontraditional employment if they are going to have to meet up with the resistance of organized labor and business interests later. While there is unquestionably some merit in the question, the answer appears clear--there must be a commitment to confront the problem. Only if we have qualified women to present to employers can we successfully force our point. Denying women access to training can only perpetuate the difficulties.

A member of the advisory committee of the skills center, the body which has the power to screen women for entrance into classes, informed us:

> ...right now it is really going to be tough for a woman to get in the trade. Mainly because most of the guys out there are old liners. I saw a girl this morning, 22 years old. She wanted to be an apprentice. I told her straight--it's going to be very tough. If she wants it she will really have to bust her ass to get it. Nobody will give her anything, she will really have to go out and get it.

The critical barrier takes the form of an unwillingness to accept some responsibility for delivery of services to women. If the training institution can continue to claim that a business will not hire women, then they can also relinquish any special responsibility to women in terms of counseling and training. This in turn leaves the entire responsibility where it has always been--with the women.

Conclusions. In addition to the problems discussed above, all the issues addressed elsewhere in this report--intake, information, referral, counseling, job developing, teaching and placement--are serious issues within this training situation. Feedback from the women we interviewed clearly demonstrates poor quality of training. Several staff members acknowledged that some of the instructors are not competent. Most come into the classroom by way of the trades and bring with them traditional stereotypes and negative attitudes toward women. Yet, these same people claim that their labor connections do not seem to work for them in trying to place women students.

The difficulties facing women are numerous and diverse. Not only is there the enormous task of overcoming bureaucratic red tape and getting into training, but then comes the unavailability of classes and the discouragement from counselors. The labor market conditions coupled with the unwillingness of employers to hire them anyway add new burdens. Finally, women are caught in the middle of complicated attempts to avoid responsibility on the part of agency staff and the business community. The agency insists that it is labor that continues to maintain the barriers which keep women out of male dominated fields. Labor claims that it is at the discretion of the individual employer, who in turn argues that he would be delighted to hire a woman if he could find one who was qualified. No one along the way is willing to assume the responsibility for assisting women to realize equality of employment opportunity.

Footnotes

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1. The Spokesman, July 15, 1976.

7. Study Implications and Recommendations

STUDY IMPLICATIONS

Whose Responsibility Is It?

Our findings indicate that one substantial barrier to women's entrance into nontraditional employment is the ambiguity in acceptance of responsibility for this effort. Although it is our view that every agency which is specifically designed or funded to serve women should ideally be committed to rectifying the serious underrepresentation of women in a wide spectrum of fields, it is clear that without a mandate from the funding source this is unlikely to occur. Until agencies are given monies earmarked for provision of services effective in helping women acquire nontraditional jobs, but perhaps unrelated to the goals of immediate and rapid placement in a position, it cannot be expected that they will assume the requisite responsibility.

It is imperative that the funding sources come to understand that achieving the ultimate objective of women entering previously male dominated fields is a complex endeavor. As has been pointed out in this report, the agencies must recognize the special needs of women clients and develop programs which are thereby appropriate. Too often, the current funding apparatus and the service delivery style of existing agencies tend to treat the client as a passive recipient to be told what to do.

Given the articulated needs of our women respondents, it seems more useful to view the client as an agent of her own education, development, and career placement. Programs which treat the woman client as capable of effectively utilizing the array of resources to which she has access, are essential if women are to take control of their own lives and enter areas previously denied them.

Identified Limitations of Current Programs

The most severe restraint on the effective operation of ongoing programs for women is that current funding practices frequently are antithetical to the underlying philosophies of the existing agencies. Not surprisingly, in an effort to monitor program performance efficiently, the funding sources (ranging from CETA prime sponsors to private foundations) have sought to empirically define the success of a program by dealing only with quantifiable outcomes. Equating numbers of actual placements with measurable achievement has resulted in placing programs in open competition for the shrinking selection of available positions. Staff effort must necessarily be directed at developing jobs for women, and objectives of truly opening up new and challenging career possibilities, specifically in nontraditional employment, have been compromised in favor of meeting placement goals.

The real dilemma, however, stems from the recognition by agencies dedicated to facilitating women's entrance into traditionally male jobs that the most effective means of expanding women's career options is to provide them with the tools which will enable them to secure their own jobs. Thus, rather than expending time and energy in struggling to develop jobs in a highly competitive market, the most fruitful efforts would rather be directed at increased counseling suited to an individual woman's specific needs, or the wide range of workshops seen to be successful in giving women the necessary encouragement and self-confidence to pursue difficult and often untrodden paths to a nontraditional job.

In addition, career choices for women in today's technologically oriented job market require her to seek and acquire increasingly sophisticated training. Research indicates that typical jobs and career counseling are not effective in presenting these options to women.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

Many of the recommendations thus far presented flow directly from the experiences of the women, either with agencies or training institutions, or as they confront the job-search situation. Although we have delineated a variety of ways in which these institutions can improve their services to women, it is clear from our experience that not all of the agencies will take responsibility for implementing the changes which we recommend. Some will not do so because they do not plan to make women's entry into nontraditional jobs a high enough priority to reassess their procedures and institute changes. Many others will not because they have no funding to do so, and have neither the time nor energy to draw up proposals to seek that funding. Then, too, there are those agencies which attempt to get funding for programs but are rejected. We, of course, hope that the information contained in this report will serve as a stimulus to agencies and training institutions to take a fresh look at their goals and processes and adopt some of our recommendations.

In addition to the explicit and implicit recommendations contained in the body of this report, however, this section will outline those changes which, in our estimation, could be most helpful to funding sources on the state, national, or local level. Specifically, the bulk of these recommendations are suitable for CETA program prime sponsors, state EDD, and the Department of Labor. While they are geared for the particular experiences of California, much of what we say throughout this report addresses problems common nationwide.

What Government Placement Agencies Need

While our focus has primarily been outside the government offices which offer employment assistance, it must be noted that the experiences reported by the women we interviewed often included interaction with a wide variety of programs and offices. As a result, we became increasingly aware that most of these women had

had negative experiences with the state EDD offices, as well as other government or school based bureaucracies. Indeed, the picture which emerges from these interviews is that wherever a woman goes, she is plagued by the generally inefficient and inept operation of most of these services. Almost without exception, the women we interviewed maintained that they had received no assistance from EDD offices. As is repeatedly documented in this report, the women have invariably met with astonishing negativism wherever else they may have sought assistance. The women seem to have singled out state or federally operated programs as those least responsive to their needs. We hope, therefore, that the administrations of these bureaucracies, and those to whom they are accountable, will undertake to revamp their procedures and take a fresh look at their attitudes toward women. We strongly urge that they adopt for themselves some of the recommendations enumerated below. Minimally, we propose that a study of their current operations be undertaken to determine where they need to change policies and procedures.

Overall CETA Goals and Policies

We have chosen to present our recommendations within the context of the CETA-funded agency model. We do this not only because it is the major program at the current time designed to serve women as a special class, but also because it seems to us to have made possible a particular kind of assistance which might otherwise not have been available to women.

By and large, these programs have been those administered by and specifically funded for women, or those which have adopted a program commitment to assist women in gaining access to nontraditional employment. While federal jobs programs can be expected to undergo a number of changes with the advent of a new administration in Washington, we believe that the concept of CETA funding for local program control has been vital to the phenomenon of women's programs being funded. Of all the programs we have visited, those having a primary commitment to serving women are those most frequently praised by the women interviewed, and from which they had gained the most real assistance. Given this kind of response, we would recommend both to local prime sponsors as well as to state CETA and federal DOL Manpower Administration that:

1. Women be added as a specific goal to programs funded to assist entry into the employment market, either through training or direct placement, with a special emphasis on nontraditional employment.

2. Current programs primarily serving women be retained, or that similar programs continue to be funded, and, in those areas where assisting women into nontraditional employment has not been a program goal, that steps be taken in future funding cycles to include such a commitment.

As so much of this report indicates, women's entry into nontraditional employment is likely to remain difficult for the foreseeable future. Assurances must be made to continue funding programs which have demonstrated that they do help women.

In addition to this fundamental commitment to assist women to secure jobs, we have a number of proposals for which the state, federal government, or CETA prime sponsors can accept responsibility to at least review, and hopefully integrate, into their future plans.

Technical Assistance Programs

Given the consistent pattern in evidence among the agencies we visited and the women we interviewed, we believe that there is an urgent need to lend assistance to the various Employment and Training agencies and their personnel. Despite the fact that some of the programs have been quite successful in helping some women, the discouraging fact remains that--for whatever reasons--many of the agencies were not. We believe that one of the most efficient means the state or the federal government or CETA prime sponsors could find to increase the effectiveness of service to women would be to offer, if not require, certain kinds of technical assistance. Critical problem areas at present seem to be the following:

A. Counseling: Counselors often do not understand how to present nontraditional career options to women, or do not even have a full range of information about employment possibilities. In addition, many were insensitive to the problems women face in seeking to enter a nontraditional career, or were actually themselves hostile to the idea. A system of workshops designed to help educate counselors to the needs of women would at least begin the task of enhancing women's chances of obtaining nontraditional employment.

B. Program Design for Nontraditional Employment: Agencies need to be shown different program components and techniques which they can incorporate into their operation to better assist women. These could include support workshops, informational services, intake and counseling procedures, and referral sources.

C. Job Development: Agency staff need periodic workshops providing them with information on affirmative action requirements, current trends and problems in the job market, and specific techniques geared to facilitate women's entrance into nontraditional employment. Few agency staff that we interviewed were adequately trained to do job development for women, and many were particularly reluctant to push for women in nontraditional employment. They need to learn how they can serve women's needs.

D. Awareness Workshops: Either within the programs listed above, or in a separate workshop, there must be provision made for assisting agency personnel to understand more about the problems and opportunities created by the recent upsurge of women into the workforce. Unless we help agency personnel to revise their perceptions and improve their skills to help women, they will continue to channel women into the traditional low-status, low-pay jobs.

An Agency Prototype: A Model to Emulate

Drawing upon what the women have identified as effective and useful agency services, we have formulated a prototypical agency model as a basis on which to pattern assistance to existing agencies and to develop new programs. The following, therefore, incorporates what our research has demonstrated to be significant factors for programs seeking to assist women into nontraditional employment.

1. Intake: clear presentation of agency process, requirements for participation, and available services.

2. Counseling: requires a solid understanding of the effect changing times has had on most women, the reasons women are looking for work, and how to present nontraditional options to them. Job counselors must be knowledgeable about, and have ready access to, careers and training for those careers. Forms of counseling which should be available to women include:

   a. assisting her to identify her abilities and skills
   b. assisting her to recognize her own potential
   c. verbal encouragement
   d. specific career counseling
   e. individual crisis counseling if needed
   f. strong, close follow-up

3. Job Development: women need advocates for their entry into nontraditional employment, and job developers need to be knowledgeable about the most productive manner of working with employers in developing positions for women in nontraditional areas.

4. Tutoring: can vary greatly, depending upon the type of nontraditional employment, but basically involves preparation for apprenticeship or other trade testing and must be made available to women.

5. Physical Preparedness or Remedial Classes: should be available to women, either directly from the agency or through referral.

6. Career Information Library, Materials, and Other Resources: a full range of information should be available at all agencies for career opportunities. These materials should be edited for sex-stereotyping.

7. Testing for aptitude and skills should be readily available to clients.

8. Financial assistance for transportation, and other job-search related expenses should be available.

9. Child care, either directly or through referral, should be provided.

10. Assistance should be offered in the following areas, either through workshops, or on an individual basis: resume writing, interview techniques, assertiveness training, and other job-search techniques.

11. Weekly support and information-sharing workshops should be held as a means to render support during the job-search process.

12. Staff should have referral information available, particularly to education and training, legal, financial and supportive services for women.

If agencies are to adopt any of the services outlined above, they obviously must be funded to do so. Although we believe that implementation of the technical assistance programs described herein will be of immense assistance to many agencies, it is clear that some programs have substantially different requirements. There must be a determination of when it is more appropriate to provide an agency with adequate funds to institute or continue aspects of service delivery which are effective in meeting women's needs. Funding authorities will have the opportunity to use the findings and recommendations of this study as a basis for devising new and revised program requirements.

Specific Types of Programs Recommended

A. There must be development of career information and education materials, such as those discussed above, which have been edited for sex-stereotyping. These are to be made available to all agencies doing career counseling, training, and/or placement. Rarely did we find an agency which had adequate materials for clients. Audio-visual materials are also important, not only for clients but for in-service training. CETA prime sponsors would do well to devise a cooperative arrangement for sharing this kind of material.

B. We also suggest that a program be designed to test some of the workshop materials mentioned in the section on Technical Assistance Recommendations. We believe that such a program would not only lend aid to a wide variety of agencies throughout the state but would also give us the basis on which to make a more informed judgment about which job counseling and development techniques are most useful to women seeking nontraditional employment.

C. Evaluation Procedures: One of the most difficult problems encountered during our visits to CETA agencies and discussions with prime sponsor administrative personnel was the lack of information about the effectiveness of programs in assisting women to upgrade their employment status, either through new training or jobs. The available statistics for the prime sponsorships throughout our target areas at best demonstrated an increase in salary for women as a category. For the most part, however, the data were inadequate to even document that fact. Even more questionable, in our estimation, is the value of current reporting systems in evaluating the quality of services rendered by any of the programs. Unfortunately, as other studies have shown, the formative stages of CETA saw rather haphazard report procedures being instituted within the various prime sponsorships, with great variation among them.

Despite the standardization of some procedures, the effectiveness of an evaluation that places almost its entire test of program worth on a compilation of placements or training slots is seriously in doubt. While numerical tabulations are always of value for labor market information, and should continue to be sought by the Department of Labor for that purpose, we believe that the usefulness of locally-based programs is not sufficiently reflected in current report and evaluation procedures. We suggest that CETA prime sponsors, in cooperation with the Department of Labor and the state of California EDD, undertake a major study of new methods for assessing the effectiveness of CETA programs. Since the shift to a community-base is so new, and because it is apparent that, in large part, current report procedures are based on older manpower programs, there is an obvious need to find more effective measures. It is necessary that local, state, and federal "manpower" personnel take a fresh look at how CETA has functioned in the first two years of its operation and find new approaches to solving the numerous difficulties that most program operators have had obtaining an effective measure of program success and gathering an adequate statistical base on which to project employment needs.

Beyond these fundamental needs, of course, is the problem of particular relevance to this report, namely, that current report procedures are irrelevant and frequently antithetical to standards of program success where women are involved. Assisting women to acquire higher paying, rewarding work, outcomes, which presumably are at the core of a program designed to facilitate women's entrance into nontraditional employment, are at a low premium. As is evident from several sections of this report, the pressure to make "placements" as the primary evaluative measure often defeats the purpose of improving the quality of a woman's career. Until and unless new and more sophisticated methods of evaluating programs are devised, women will continue to suffer from a process that puts a premium on doing business as expeditiously as possible--a sure way to keep channeling women into traditional job areas.

The success of whatever assistance is being given to clients, particularly women clients, must first be redefined to consider that which the client perceives as her needs and how they have been served. In addition, measures should be developed which can reflect the local variants in employment conditions while providing adequate data for the "larger" purposes of regional and national employment trends. Because of the work that has been done in other areas (e.g. health) of community-based programs, we believe that there are ample materials now available on which to begin formulating newer methods of evaluating programs. We recommend that any changes in evaluation procedures be based on a thorough study directed at the problems thus far noted. Such a study would seek to establish, field test, and recommend changes in existing patterns of contract monitoring for reporting requirements and of present evaluation procedures. Of particular importance to our concerns is a procedure which will consider the needs of an agency for technical assistance to better serve women as part of an "evaluation" procedure.

Conclusion

The recommendations we have made speak quite specifically to the problems agencies encounter in meeting the needs of women seeking employment, and are based on the assumption of continued governmental support for this kind of service. In this context, however, it is necessary to underline some of the larger problems which lie beyond the purview of this report, but which significantly affect the careers and futures of women. Several sections of this report deal with the question of the barriers which keep women from realizing their full potential in the labor market. No barrier is more overriding and pervasive than the very real lack of jobs. However well counseled and trained women may be, if there are no jobs available, the efforts will have gone for nothing. With unemployment at an all-time high in California, it is obviously mandatory to address that issue at the same time we seek to improve services to women.

Such an undertaking is particularly critical to local CETA jurisdictions, which will be receiving additional government funding destined to relieve unemployment. Already we witness a massive influx of Title VI monies. It is of urgent importance that prime sponsors carefully consider the kind of orientation that these and other funds be used for and that the needs of women not be overlooked. There is, in many areas for instance, a strong push to create public service, housing rehabilitations, and environmental projects utilizing CETA enrollees, often in a training or apprenticeship type capacity. We believe such projects offer unique opportunities for women who seek nontraditional employment and that careful consideration be given to inclusion of women in the planning, development and implementation of such projects. Beyond the immediate need to create jobs lies the long-range direction of training and placement procedures in an increasingly complex, highly technological society.

8. Appendices

APPENDIX A. PRODUCTS OF THE CALIFORNIA STUDY

Directory

Given our objective of facilitating women's entrance into nontraditional employment, a major effort of the California study has been compilation of a directory, Looking for Women?. It is designed to assist employers in finding qualified women for traditionally male jobs.

The directory covers our target areas: the nine Bay Area counties, Los Angeles, San Diego and Fresno. The intent is to focus on those agencies offering special assistance to women who are interested in nontraditional employment. An overview of CETA prime sponsor operations is presented, as well as listings of relevant publicly funded training programs. Additionally noted are agencies which offer minimal placement service of potential use to an employer seeking qualified women. To be included, an agency or program must be publicly financed or at least provide some services on a no-fee basis.

During the initial stages of the project, a set of criteria for inclusion in the directory was developed. A three-step selection procedure was devised for deciding among the vast array of women's organizations, community programs, training agencies, schools and colleges, CETA subcontractors, and other organizations involved in helping women to secure jobs. Step 1 allowed determination of which agencies (or training institutions) met the criteria for initial contact: whether direct placement is done; whether women are actually placed; whether placements are being made in jobs characterized as nontraditional for purposes of this study. During Step 2, agencies meeting the criteria established for Step 1 were contacted by telephone. Structured by a survey schedule, the following information was sought: current status of agency's placement activities; whether more than 25% of placements are of women in nontraditional jobs; quality of actual placements made; wage levels for women placed.

It was soon evident, however, that NO agency or program had available the statistics necessary for utilizing the above criteria. As a result, it was decided that agencies meeting these revised criteria would be selected: provide minimal placement and/or counseling services free of charge; have a stated policy or program component to assist women gain nontraditional employment. Training programs included are those which are publicly funded, and which provide skills to women in nontraditional areas.

Step 3 involved distribution of a survey instrument to the various programs, agencies, and training institutions to determine whether they meet the criteria outlined above and to assemble the requisite data for a directory listing.

An overview of CETA operatives is presented for each geographical area served. It became immediately apparent that employers seeking women employees were invariably uncertain whom to contact and were without access to information about the functioning of the CETA program. It was also obvious that many programs we had contacted were not going to survive after the current fiscal year, which would rapidly result in outdated listings. Inclusion of a contact for all CETA operations at least gives the prospective employer a potential introduction to new programs and information about other relevant CETA services.

A listing of women's professional associations which offer some assistance to the employer is also included. Additionally, a limited bibliography has been compiled of national and regional directories useful in obtaining further information on recruitment sources for the employment of women. A few representative publications designed to assist the employer in meeting affirmative action and equal employment goals are cited.

The results of our inquiries indicated that, with but one exception, colleges and universities need not be included in the directory insofar as no specific programs could be identified which are helping women enter nontraditional employment.

Moreover, only one responding college women's center offered even a bulletin board for employers to list job opportunities.

Each agency listing contains an introductory paragraph summarizing the central objectives and operations of the agency. Data are then provided on client characteristics--target population, requirements for participation, and geographical area served. Services to clients are outlined to guide the prospective employer in determining the extent to which clients are screened, counseled, and assisted in making career choices. Also available is a description of placement services offered by the agency, and information about training programs as to type of course offerings and special program emphasis.

Although we were discouraged ultimately to find so few agencies meeting our criteria, we believe that the directory, as published, does offer the employer a complete and accurate picture of what services do exist and the means to find other sources as well.

Bibliography

Our early efforts to survey the literature relevant to our study of women and nontraditional employment quickly pointed up the dearth of research in this area. The recent phenomenon of women's increased labor force participation, in conjunction with their expanded career aspirations, suggests the need for future studies marking their progress. Our findings will outline specific gaps in available data and indicate new directions for researchers to pursue. To these ends we have compiled a partially annotated bibliography to facilitate a variety of inquiries along this dimension.

Whereas our primary concern is with women and nontraditional employment, valuable related information may be found in studies of economic discrimination on the basis of sex and in those writings which present the issues of women and work within an historical context. Our bibliography thus incorporates these categories, as well as highlighting the previous research on sex-role stereotyping and those articles specifically concerned with occupational choice, central to any understanding of the underrepresentation of women in numerous job settings. We hope the bibliography will be of use to others who follow, and ultimately to the women who gain entrance to these fields.

APPENDIX B. TOPICAL GUIDELINES FOR INTERVIEWS WITH WOMEN CLIENTS

Summary of Headings:

I. Personal Characteristics
II. Background Information
III. Agency
IV. Process
    A. Intake
    B. Workshop
    C. Counseling
    D. Referral
    E. Placement
    F. Support Services
V. Training
VI. Current Status
VII. Employment Conditions
VIII. Overview of Women's Experiences in Seeking Nontraditional Employment

I. Personal Characteristics

* Age
* Marital status
* Current living situation (communal, single, family)
* Number of children being cared for or number of dependents
* Ethnicity
* Work experience/history
* Current occupation
    --employer
    --salary

II. Background Information

* When nontraditional employment was considered
* Why nontraditional employment was considered
* Other options considered
* Whether a role model existed
* Sources of encouragement for seeking nontraditional employment
* Sources of discouragement for seeking nontraditional employment
* Reactions from family, friends, others on making this choice
* Whether any friends are in this occupation
* People with whom decision about entering nontraditional employment was discussed
* Ramifications of making this choice
    --on marriage
    --on children
    --travel

III. Agency

* Which and how many were used
* Number of visits to each
* If more than one, differences in treatment and service
* Whether there was specific recruitment by anyone (woman/minority)
* Whether any written materials were received
* How much time was spent at each meeting, total
* Time span between appointments, if applicable
* Why X agency was selected

IV. Process
- * Description from initial visit to final outcome
- A. Intake
  - * How long it took
- B. Workshop or Tutoring if applicable
- C. Counseling
  - * Whether group or individual was done
  - * Whether counselor was male or female
  - * Which options were presented
  - * Whether the economic advantages of traditional vs. nontraditional were discussed
  - * Whether any role models or success stories were presented
  - * Number of counseling appointments scheduled
  - * Whether there was preparation for interviews
  - * Whether there was counselor follow-through on subsequent activities
  - * Whether the counseling was helpful or encouraging
  - * Whether special counseling services were available for women
- D. Referral
  - * Where referral was made
    - --training
    - --direct job
  - * Description of number and kinds of referrals
  - * Amount of client input into final decision making
- E. Placement
  - * Whether by agency or by client
  - * Whether placement was satisfactory
  - * When placement made by agency was there follow-up
    - --by whom
    - --by what means
    - --how frequently
- F. Support Services
  - * What kinds of support were given to client prior to placement
  - * What kinds of support were given to client during placement process
  - * What kinds of support were given to client after process

V. Training
- * Where
- * What kind
- * Length
- * Support
- * Cost
- * Travel

VI. Current Status
- * Whether currently employed
- * Reasons for being unemployed
- * If employed, how significant was the assistance of X agency
- * Whether there were outside sources of support
  - --financial
  - --emotional
- * Amount of social life centering around work
- * Effect of job on personal, emotional life

VII. Employment Conditions
- * Kind of treatment at work
    - --by male co-workers
    - --by employer
    - —by other women employees
- * Methods developed for coping on the job
- * Whether a women's group has been joined
    - --at work
    - --outside work
- * Whether a promotion has been given
- * Whether there is union affiliation
    - --whether it is helpful or a hassle

VIII. Overview of Women's Experiences in Seeking Nontraditional Employment
- * Whether it was worth it
- * Given what is now known, whether the same choice would be made
- * What would have been done differently
- * What could X agency have done differently
- * What helped/hindered the most
- * Suggestions for other women entering same occupation
- * Whether family, friends made a difference
- * Whether counseling made a difference
- * Whether there is differential treatment on the basis of sex
- * What it takes to make it in traditionally male jobs
- * Why so few women are in nontraditional jobs

APPENDIX B. TOPICAL GUIDELINES FOR INTERVIEWS WITH AGENCY ADMINISTRATORS AND STAFF BY COMPONENT

Summary of Headings:

I. Counseling
II. Job Development
III. Follow-up
IV. Intake/Selection
V. Placement
VI. Workshops
VII. Training
VIII. Organization
IX. Overview
    A. Questions for All Staff
    B. Questions Only for Administrative Staff

I. Counseling

- * Optional or required
- * Description of the process
    - --length of time
    - --number of times
- * Group or individual
- * Particular focus
- * Whether the economic advantages of nontraditional employment are discussed with women
- * Whether alternatives are presented to women
- * Kinds of alternatives
    - --how they are presented
- * Whether any concrete examples/role models of nontraditional jobs are presented to women
- * Whether success stories of employed women in nontraditional jobs are available and presented to women applicants
- * Whether applicable policy exists when women applicants are willing to take nontraditional employment but qualified men also available
- * Whether applicants are required to do advance planning for the upcoming interview
    - --with agency
    - --with employer
- * Type of training required for counseling staff
- * Whether special training or experience in counseling women
- * Whether women who are interested in nontraditional employment are referred to a special counseling component

II. Job Development

- * Whether it is suggested to employers that a woman might be able to handle a job
- * Whether informational pieces are sent to employers promoting applicants
- * Whether an educational program for employers and applicants exists which introduces and explains the concept and value of nontraditional employment for women
- * How discussions with employers about traditional v. nontraditional jobs for women are handled
- * Whether a policy exists for handling job orders/training for clerical positions

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* Whether OJT positions are developed
* How this is done/description of the process
* Whether there are target jobs

III. Follow-up

* Who does it
* Who gets followed up
    --all clients
    --clients referred to certain components
* Type of follow-up
    --on the job
    --home visit
    --scheduled appointment
    --telephone
    --mail
* Duration (how long a person is followed)
* What is included
    --counseling
    --tutoring
    --supplemental training
* If a training component exists, what is the relationship to clients enrolled in training at another location
    --who takes responsibility
    --whether there is a clear plan
    --is trainee followed through or reassigned at training facility
    --how the trainee gets an understanding of the structure

IV. Intake/Selection

* Step by step description of process for client walking in off the street for service
    --how long does it take
    --appointment times, are they seen right away or rescheduled
    --whether everything is done in one place
* Process for client referred from elsewhere
    --how long does it take
    --appointment times, are they seen right away or rescheduled
    --whether everything is done in one place
* Selection
    --who does it
    --how
    --when
    --where
* Who gets seen
* Who is not served
* Criteria for selection
    --CETA
    --agency

V. Placement

* Kinds of placements
    --by sex
    --dates
    --duration of job or training course
* Client characteristics, who gets placed (target v. actual)
* Where it takes place

  * Whether placement for each Title is handled separately or integrated
  * What the relationship of placement is to job development

VI. Workshops

  * Type of format
    --focus
    --emphasis
  * Who attends
  * Who is eligible
  * Whether effectiveness is assessed

VII. Training

  * How a person ends up in X training program/course
  * Description of the process
    --interview
    --testing
    --requirements
  * Where it takes place
  * When at other facility, what the relationship is
  * Whether training institution is a sub-contractor
  * Who makes referrals
    --only this agency
    --other agencies
    --walk-ins
  * Whether private students are trained
  * How long affiliations have existed
  * Plans for continuing affiliation in the future
  * How placement is handled
    --whether the training institution does placement
    --whether agency does placement
    --whether both the training institution and the agency do placement
  * Whether clients must come back to agency for service
  * Whether training institution does its own job development
  * Who else makes referrals to training facility

VIII. Organization

  * Accurate description of overall processes as they relate to one another and to other programs in county
    --to other components
    --to other facilities
  * Contact with which other agencies
    --for what purpose
    --formal contractual relationships
    --informal relationships
  * Whether agency has contact with local junior colleges in the area which train in nontraditional fields

IX. Overview

A. Questions for All Staff

  * Who is being reached and who is not being reached by agency
  * What services are being provided and to whom
  * Whether any significant changes have occurred over time in the use of services

- Whether feedback is sought
    - --from the employer
    - --from the client
- Whether feedback is encouraged/how
- Use made of feedback
- Opinion of clients' attitude about services offered
- Opinion on employers' attitude to services offered
- Whether there have been any unexpected or unintended side effects or accomplishments
- Whether experience with this program suggests any change for the future
- Description of what the most ideal effective program would be
    - --if no limits on funds or regulations existed
    - --design implementation
- How much of agency's success/failure can be attributed to the leadership of this program
- What other factors would relate to success/failure
- Whether there has been cooperation with other agencies
    - --which ones
- Whether community support/pressure exists
- Whether staff cooperation exists
- Whether funding is adequate
- Whether agency has an advisory or an executive board
    - --what its role has been
    - --how this has affected agency's accomplishments
- If results differ significantly from agency's original goals, to what extent was this predictable
- Whether entire staff is clear about agency's goals/policies
- Process for achieving staff consensus on goals and policies
    - --orientation
    - --staff development

B. Questions Only for Administrative Staff

- Whether an evaluation plan exists for the program
    - --description of plan
- Whether any results, findings have been published
- How monitoring of sub-contractors is handled
    - --who does it
    - --how often
    - --description of the process

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Analysis of the impact of government manpower programs. It provides a detailed record of what the categorical manpower programs have accomplished, how they have impacted on women and minority groups, and in what manner they failed to achieve their objectives.

Peterson, Esther, "Working Women," *Daedalus*, Vol. 93, Spring 1964, pp. 671-699.
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Pidgeon, Mary Elizabeth, *Women in the Economy of the U.S.A.: A Summary Report*, U.S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, Bulletin No. 155, 1937.
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President's Commission on the Status of Women, *American Women: Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women*, Washington, D.C., 1965.

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Roesch, Roberta, *There's Always a Right Job for Every Woman*, Berkeley Publishing Co., New York, 1976.
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This is a feminist overview of women workers' struggles for their rights as workers, from the colonial period to 1970, with fascinating old photographs and short text to explain the continuing story.

Schein, Virginia Ellen, "Fair Employment of Women Through Personnel Research," *Personnel Journal*, May 1972, pp. 330-335.
Affirms need for personnel department of business to conduct research and make decisions based on same. Good reference bibliography at end.

Seed, Suzanne, *Saturday's Child: 36 Women Talk About Their Jobs*, Bantam, Pathfinder Editions, New York, 1973.
Particularly useful for the woman or young girl deciding on a career; each woman describes how she got into her work area and what it's like to work in her field. Over half the occupations covered are in nontraditional fields, i.e. pilot, conductor, biophysicist, cab driver, and accountant.

Simmons, Adele; Ann Freedman, Margaret Dunkle and Francine Blau, Exploitation from 9 to 5: Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Women and Employment, Lexington Books, New York, 1975.
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A good primer on the sociology of women, which emphasizes the way in which the condition of women changes with modernization. Includes an excellent collection of demographic and labor force statistics on international trends, and has great illustrations.

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Includes papers on: "Minority Group Women" by Pat Cayo Sexton; "Part-Time Work and Flexible Hours Employment" by Carol S. Greenwald; "The Earnings Gap: Research Needs and Issues" by Isabel Sawhill; and "Barriers to Entry and Re-Entry Into the Labor Force" by Carol Jusenius.

Vogel, Lise, "The Earthly Family," Radical America, Vol. 7, Nos. 4 and 5, July - October 1973, pp. 9-50.
A thorough discussion of women's role in society, including women and work (sex and division of labor) both in the labor force and in the family, and a detailed analysis of Juliet Mitchell's Woman's Estate, written from a Marxist-feminist viewpoint. Many thought-provoking systems explored.

Wilensky, Harold L., "Women's Work: Economic Growth, Ideology, Structure," Industrial Relations, Vol. 7, May 1968, pp. 235-248.
Raises large key questions: Does economic growth automatically bring increased job opportunities for women? To what extent can ideals of equality between sexes overcome traditional structure constraints? Do child bearing responsibilities common to industrial society limit the number of women working and type of jobs they hold? Is there an upper limit to female labor force particularly in modern societies? Traces labor patterns to pre-modern times. Compares U.S. to Soviet Union and other industrialized societies.

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II. ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION

A. Sex Discrimination

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Examines differential behavior of men and women within the structure of work. Disputes earlier studies relying basically on biology, socialization, attitudes, and role commitment, focusing on more structural factors such as differential recruitment and sex-linked control mechanisms.

Arrow, Kenneth J., "Models of Job Discrimination," in Pascal, A.H. (ed.), *Racial Discrimination in Economic Life*, D.C. Heath and Co., Lexington, Massachusetts, 1972, pp. 83-102.

Ashenfelter, Orley, "Changes in Labor Market Discrimination Over Time," *Journal of Human Resources*, Vol. 5, Fall 1970, pp. 403-430.
A technical article examining changes of relative wages of black and white workers attributable to changes in discrimination on one hand and cyclical swings in the labor market on the other. Concludes that between 1950 and 1966 there was little change in the extent of discrimination against black males, however, the gap between black and white women closed some during the period.

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The "Becker Model" developed here is one of the first and basic models employed by neo-classical economists in analyzing economic discrimination--primarily wage discrimination--based on differences of race, religion, sex, social class or other so-called non-pecuniary considerations. Assumes that individuals (employers, consumers) have "tastes to discriminate" which lead to actual and measurable discrimination in the market place, e.g. lower wages. Considers discrimination as essentially irrational and counter to economic efficiency criteria.

Bell, C.S., "Economics, Sex and Gender," *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 55, No. 3, December 1974, pp. 615-631.

Bem, Sandra L. and Daryl J. Bem, *Sex Segregated Want Ads: Do They Discourage Female Job Applicants?*, Know, Inc., Pittsburgh, Pa., 1970.

Bergmann, Barbara R., "Towards More Useful Modes of Research on Discrimination in Employment and Pay," *Sloan Management Review*, Vol. 15, No. 3, Spring 1974, pp. 43-45.

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Blau, Francine D. and Carol L. Jusenius, "Economists' Approaches to Sex Segregation in the Labor Market: An Appraisal," *Signs, Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 1, No. 3, Part 2, Spring 1976, pp. 181-199.
A critical descriptive and analytical review of neo-classical economic approaches to sex segregation. The competitive model (Bergmann, Becker, Fawcett and Edgeworth), competitive model--the human capital approach (Becker, Sawhill, and Fuchs), and the monopsony model (Madden, Robinson) are covered. An institutional approach, the international labor market analysis is then discussed. A fairly technical article with much useful overview theory and understanding.

Bould, Jane Schwartz, "Discrimination in Employment," *Barnard Alumnae*, Vol. 59, 1970, pp. 29-30.

Boulding, Kenneth E., "Role Prejudice as an Economic Problem," *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1974, p. 40.
A short statement drawn from the section prepared by Kenneth Boulding in "Combatting Role Prejudice and Sex-Discrimination," a report on the findings of the American Economic Association Committee on the Status of Women in the Economics Profession (*AER*, Vol. 63, No. 5, December 1973, pp. 1049-1061). In the original, Boulding's theoretical presentation is followed by AEA resolutions and proposals in a section written by Barbara Reagan.

Chase, Judy, "Inside HEW: Women Protest Sex Discrimination," *Science*, Vol. 174, October 1971, pp. 270-274.
The position of women workers in HEW is examined. Statistical data show that there is unspoken discrimination against women, particularly in filling high administrative positions.

Conference Board, Inc., "Nondiscrimination in Employment: Changing Perspectives, 1963-72," New York, 1973.
Factual, concise and accurate information on nondiscrimination laws and regulations and excerpts from federal court decisions which apply to hiring, apprentice programs, upgrading, transfer, promotion, compensation, leaves of absence, maternity leave and termination.

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Examines sex discrimination and differential employment within the confines of neo-classical economic theory. A technical article, it seeks to point out that the existing situation does not provide for an optimum allocation of human resources and that firms should be encouraged to reformulate recruitment and evaluation systems to improve social results.

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Article based on research among employers from 20 business organizations employing nearly two million people. Article reports on policies, programs and practices of business organizations. One conclusion: Until business is economically threatened by the consumer as well as by the government, EEO progress will be slow. That economic pressure has not materialized yet.

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Johnston, J.D., Jr. and C.L. Knapp, "Sex Discrimination by Law: A Study in Judicial Perspective," New York University Law Review, Vol. 46, 1971, pp. 675-747.

Jordan, Joan, "The Place of American Women, Economic Exploitation of Women," Revolutionary Age, Vol. 1, 1968.

Jusenius, Carol L. and Steven H. Sandell, "Barriers to Entry and Re-entry into the Labor Force," presented at Workshop on Research Needed to Improve the Employment and Employability of Women, U.S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, June 1974, pp. 1-47.
Breaking barriers down into supply-side barriers (child care, marriage, skill obsolescence, and work expectations) and demand-side barriers (labor market segregation, female occupations and male occupations), the authors explore the problems and existing literature, as well as topics for additional research and methodological and empirical problems inherent in such research. An excellent, understandable, in-depth article.

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The book covers the gamut of factors related to and influencing American women at work. The time framework generally covers 1940-1970. Women are first considered in terms of family roles; race differences; position in household; work roles. Book continues with items peculiar to the labor market itself; women labor force activity; education; earnings; occupation; aspirations. Value of non-labor market women are cited as are annual earnings of wives. Kreps examines women's labor force participation over a lifetime. She concludes with implications of legislation, including the Federal Civil Rights Act, various State Fair Employment Practices Laws and the conflicts between State and Federal statutes on women workers. The book's merits rest on its wide scope, and the relationships it draws from the data presented. It raises a number of thought-provoking questions to be answered by experience and time. Valuable for any women.

Kucera, Daniel J., "Women Unwanted," Harvard Law Review, Vol. 37, December 12, 1963, p. 1.

Lee, Meiba and Valentina J. Jackson, Employment Problems of Women: A Classic Example of Discrimination, Office of Research, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Research Report #37, March 1972.

Levitin, Teresa; Robert Quinn and Graham Staines, "Sex Discrimination Against the American Working Woman," American Behavioral Scientist, Vol. 15, November/December 1971, pp. 237-254.
The article focuses on women discriminated against in the work setting. It examines how consistently occupational rewards are allocated on the basis of achievement and whether observed sex differences in rewards may be attributed to legitimate achievement factors. They show that what emerges from observation is that sex discrimination is an important determinant of differentials that cannot be explained by difference in achievement.

Lloyd, Cynthia B. (ed.), Sex, Discrimination and the Division of Labor, Columbia University Press, New York, 1975.
Presents a review of the literature on the division of labor between the sexes, including a useful historical presentation. Contains sections on: female labor participation, unemployment and wage differentials; discrimination and occupational segregation; economic aspects of women's nonmarket activities; the effect of some government policies on women's economic position; and the economics of women's liberation.

Madden, Janice F., The Economics of Sex Discrimination, D.C. Health and Co., Lexington, Mass., 1973.
While based on a microeconomic analysis of the economics of sex discrimination, the book as a whole provides a rich background of information and thought on the topic. Included is a survey of empirical studies of the female labor market, the development of economic thought on the "woman problem", the competitive economic model and discrimination, and discrimination as shown from models of noncompetitive markets. Considers that discrimination must be viewed not only in terms of wage discrimination, but in terms of occupational opportunities and acculturation. Finds models of noncompetitive market behavior most valuable for explaining the existing situation.

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McCune, Shirley, "Thousands Reply to Opinionaire: Many Documented Cases of Sex Discrimination," Journal of the American Association of University Women, Vol. 64, No. 5, May 1970, pp. 202-206.

Murray, P., "Economic and Educational Inequality Based on Sex: An Overview," Valparaiso University Law Review, Vol. 5, 1971, pp. 237-280.

O'Neill, June, "The Sex Differential in Earnings and Labor Market Discrimination Against Women," Journal of Contemporary Business, Vol. 2, Summer 1973, pp. 41-52.

Oppenheimer, Valerie Kincade, "The Sex Labeling of Jobs," Industrial Relations, Vol. 7, May 1968, pp. 219-234.
Outlines reasons behind the development and persistence of so-called "female" jobs in the U.S. including those based on low labor costs, available supply, and types of skills. It notes that particular occupational titles may differ from actual job characteristics and that when such titles are utilized primarily for women their tasks will often differ from the tasks assigned to others (even in the same industries) with that title if the job holders are predominantly men. In general, she shows that female jobs exhibit characteristics which promote the attachment of female sex labels and lack characteristics that favor the employment of male workers.

Phelps, E., "The Statistical Theory of Racism and Sexism," American Economic Review, Vol. 62, No. 4, September 1972, pp. 659-661.
A note on statistical implications of racism and sexism whereby the results of discrimination are expected to lead to further and continued discrimination.

Porter, Sylvia, "Women Work For the Same Reasons Men Do," S.F. Chronicle Newspaper, February 22, 1975, San Francisco, Calif.
Scathing reply to a male columnist's assertion that unemployment for large numbers of women would only mean loss of an extra job, not a catastrophe. Cites statistics which show this assertion totally false, and adds some insightful comments of her own.

Pressman, Sonia, "Sex Discrimination in Employment and What You Can Do About It," Women Lawyers Journal, Vol. 54, Fall 1968, pp. 6-10.

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Rossi, Alice S., "Job Discrimination and What Women Can Do About It," Atlantic, Vol. 225, No. 3, March 1970, pp. 99-102.

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Discusses the powerful institutional forces existing to maintain inequality and calls for the purposeful intervention of governmental and movement groups to alter the situation. Foresees a new climate and conditions as resulting only from major institutional change.

Sawhill, Isabel, "The Economics of Discrimination Against Women: Some New Findings," Journal of Human Resources, Vol. 8, No. 3, Summer 1973, pp. 383-395.
The article attempts to specify the way in which sex discrimination interacts with other variables to reduce female earnings. Variables included age, race, education, marital status, city size, region, type of occupation and training requirements. It contrasts Becker and Bergmann models of economic discrimination. It provides evidence to show that discrimination in employment - i.e. type of job placements available to women - is a much more important factor in explaining earning differentials, than simple wage discrimination - i.e. unequal pay for the same work. It argues, however, that there are real as well as imagined differences between the productivity of men and women related to job experience, training and turnover, which contribute to the type of job opportunities open to each.

"Sex Discrimination in Employment," Fordham Law Review, Vol. 35, No. 3, March 1967, pp. 503-516.

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"Sex Discrimination in Employment, Part II," Women's Rights Law Reporter, Vol. 1, Spring 1973, pp. 65-103.

Shanahan, E., "Nixon's Economists Say Job Bias Cuts Women's Pay 10 to 20%," New York Times, July 11, 1973.

Shepherd, William and Sharon Levin, "Managerial Discrimination in Large Firms," Review of Economics and Statistics, Vol. 55, November 1973, pp. 412-422. Article tests whether industrial structure and performance of large firms have benn related to their employment of blacks and women. Analysis covers 200 of largest U.S. industrial enterprises, using employment data for 1966 and 1970. Focus is on white-collar employment patterns. Findings: both male blacks and women regardless of race, are at token levels in managerial jobs, even after a sharp rise for male blacks. Though supply of quality women is abundant their participation at management level has not increased.

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Stoll, Clarice Stasz, Sexism: Scientific Debates, Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Reading, Mass., 1973.

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Weisskoff, Francine Blau, "Women's Place in the Labor Market," American Economic Review, Vol. 62, No. 2, May 1972, pp. 161-166. Examines occupational concentration and segregation in an historical perspective. Notes that much of the growth of labor force participation of women relates to growth in traditionally female jobs. Discusses institutional and economic causes of occupational segregation along with many of its implications.

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Women's Work Project, Separated and Unequal: Discrimination Against Women Workers After World War II, Union for Radical Political Economics, Washington, D.C., 1976.

B. Wages and Employment

Bosworth, B., "An Examination of Male and Female Earnings in Professional Industry and Occupational Classification," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Statistical Association, December 1973.

Buckley, J.E., "Pay Differences Between Men and Women in the Same Job," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 94, No. 11, November 1971, pp. 36-39.

Clover, Vernon T., Changes in Differences in Earnings and Occupational Status of Men and Women, 1947-1967, Department of Economics, Texas Technical University, 1970.

Cohen, Malcolm, "Sex Differences in Compensation," Journal of Human Resources, Fall 1971, pp. 434-447.
Article examined five hypotheses explaining differences in pay between men and women: wage discrimination; occupational wage levels; job choice and working conditions; fringe benefits; and qualifications and productivity of women. Nine hundred individuals in the 22-64 age group with full-time jobs were surveyed in December 1969. Differences of $5,000 were found in mean pay between women and men full-time in 1969. The difference was $2,500 among nonprofessional workers 22-64 with a steady job. Some 42% of the men and 27% of the women reported jobs exposed them to physical dangers or unhealthy conditions. Most important reason for difference in average pay between males and females is clustering of women in low-paying jobs.

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Fuchs, Victor, "Differences in Hourly Earnings Between Men and Women," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 94, No. 5, May 1971, pp. 9-15.
Using the 1960 Census of Population and Housing for data, this article shows that female hourly earnings were 60% of male earnings. The differential in various types of employment is analyzed as well as age and marital status. The tendency for women in predominantly male industries to have high earnings is confirmed.

__________, "Recent Trends and Long-Run Prospects for Female Earnings," American Economic Review, Vol. 64, No. 2, May 1974, pp. 236-242.
By adjusting for hours, age and schooling, he finds an increase in the female-male earnings ratio between 1959 and 1969, laying the basis for an optimistic view of the future. Discusses the existing situation in terms of role differentiation.

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Hamblin, M. and M.J. Prell, "Income of Men and Women: Why Do They Differ?" Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City Review, April 1973, pp. 3-11.

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A statistical analysis of pay differentials based on data for 272 professional employers in a single large corporation. It concludes that men and women with equal characteristics (education, training, etc.) do not get equal pay primarily because women tend to be assigned to lower job levels.

Manke, R., "Lower Pay for Women: A Case of Economic Discrimination?" Industrial Relations, October 1971, pp. 316-326.
The author attempts to dispute the hypothesis that sex-related pay differences are the result of economic discrimination. Manke states that "the average woman is neither the physical nor mental equal of the average man in performing most jobs." His blanket statements, lack of back-up statistics, and male-biased viewpoint make this an unpalatable piece to read.

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Attempts to explain why women have had a higher unemployment rate than men in the U.S. since 1948. Her research showed that the most important reason is the extensive movement of women into and out of the labor force. Intra labor force immobility is also a factor. Of less significance, interestingly, is less specific training received by women than men.

____________, "Geographic Immobility and Labor Force Mobility: A Study of Female Unemployment," in Lloyd, C. (ed.), Sex, Discrimination and the Division of Labor, Columbia University Press, New York, 1975, pp. 61-87.
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____________, "Sex Discrimination in Wages," in Ashenfelter, O.C. and A. Rees (eds.), Discrimination in Labor Markets, Princeton University Press, 1973, pp. 124-151.

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A thoughtful paper on the many necessary questions to be researched and answered to understand the reasons for the earnings gap between men and women, and to begin a strategy for eliminating the inequities (full of thought-provoking questions researchers could explore).

Stevenson, Mary H., "Relative Wages and Sex Segregation by Occupation," in Lloyd, C. (ed.), Sex, Discrimination and the Division of Labor, Columbia University Press, New York, 1975, pp. 175-200.
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Suter, Larry E. and Herman P. Miller, "Income Differences Between Men and Career Women," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 78, No. 4, pp. 962-973.
Reasons for differential in earnings between men and women are explored and statistics given. Wage or salary incomes, 1966, of men and women of same age (30-44) and occupation groups are compared, including a large group of women having worked every year since leaving school. Total group (17 million women) provides statistics on work patterns of women.

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C. Affirmative Action

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III. SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPING AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

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IV. LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN

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A good survey of the statistical evidence on sex differences in absenteeism and labor turnover. Shows that although data show higher rates of both factors for women than men, when comparisons are made between men and women holding similar jobs, little or no difference exists. Thus while, because they are concentrated in jobs of low status and pay, and because those jobs have high

turnover and absenteeism rates, women may appear to be a poor investment as employees, in fact, they are as reliable as their male counterparts in any given occupation.

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U.S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, Highlights of Women's Employment and Educational Employment in 1973, Washington, D.C., 1973.
Analysis of occupations: More than one-third of all employed women were clerical workers. They included more than four million stenographers, typists and secretaries. In addition, 17% were service workers; 15% were professional and technical workers; 14% were operatives, chiefly in factories.

Waldman, E. and B.J. McEaddy, "Where Women Work - An Analysis by Industry and Occupation," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 97, May 1974, pp. 3-13.
A detailed, up-to-date appraisal of the employment of women, using payroll statistics, shows that the service industry ranks first as an employer of women, and within this, as in every industry studied, women are clustered in sex-segregated positions of clerical/sales, services, or professional and technical. Occupational patterns have changed from half-blue, half-white-collar to mostly white-collar in the 1970's.

Waldman, Elizabeth and Robert Whitmore, "Children of Working Mothers, March 1973," from Monthly Labor Review, May 1974.
A report containing many statistics pertaining to working women who also are mothers, and their children. Statistics showed that the number of working mothers is rising and that children were better off in terms of family income if their mothers worked. Statistics were broken down by woman's income, income of the family, full or part-time employment, Negro or white, wife or head of household.

Women and the Personnel Office at UCB, An Analysis of Personnel Practices Related to Women Holding or Applying for Staff Positions, prepared by students of the Wright Institute, University of California, Berkeley, Calif., December 1970.
Study of University of California, Berkeley, personnel practices which relate to women applicants' attempts at securing jobs or promotions. Specific examples and suggestions for changes given. Institutional mechanisms, unions, employment patterns, sex-typed jobs, and discriminatory attitudes are some of the topics covered. An appendix, "A National Perspective on Women in the Labor Force" gives analysis and statistics to counter myths and stereotypes surrounding women's employment.

V. OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE

Almquist, Elizabeth M. and Shirley S. Angrist, "Career Salience and A-typicality of Occupational Choice Among College Women," Journal of Marriage and the Family, Vol. 32, No. 2, May 1970, pp. 242-249.

__________ & __________, Careers and Contingencies: How College Women Juggle with Gender, Dunellen, New York, 1975.
The dilemmas women face in choosing an occupation, the forces toward marriage, motherhood and how this affects work, the choice of an a-typical or typical field of work, are all thoroughly explored. Uses early research and a four-year

(1964-1968) longitudinal study of college women; background and conflicts are discussed. A new theory of career choice is put forth - the contingency theory. Comprehensive and thought-provoking; original ideas based on the concrete experiences of women.

Angel, Juvenal L., *Matching College Women to Jobs*, World Trade Academy Press, Inc., New York, 1970.
Resource book listing opportunities and options available to college women seeking employment. Lists occupation with approximate salaries, years of training, job description, working conditions, hiring organizations. Also includes occupational bibliography and sources of employment for college women.

Bailyn, Lotte, "Notes on the Role of Choice in the Psychology of Professional Women," *Daedalus*, Vol. 93, Spring 1964, pp. 700-710.
This article focuses on the problem of women trained for jobs in male-dominated professions, citing needs to often be superior to the requirements of her job which is not required of her male counterparts.

Blau, Peter, et al., "Occupational Choice: A Conceptual Framework," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, Vol. 9, July 1956, pp. 531-543.

Caplow, Theodore, "Occupations of Women" and "Occupations and Family," *The Sociology of Work*, Chapters 10 and 11, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1954.

Dutton, Richard E., "Sex as a Factor in Occupational Choice," *Personnel Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 8, September 1967, pp. 510-513.

Ginzberg, Eli, *Occupational Choice*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1951.

Harrison, Laurie R., *Career Guidance for Adults: Focus on Women and Ethnic Minorities, A Planning Manual and Catalog of Programs*, American Institute of Research, Palo Alto, California, January 1976.
A two-part document containing catalog and planning manual which provides brief guidelines for effective program implementation. Catalog describes 79 programs considered most successful in the nation. Funded by U.S. Office of Education to encourage career planning and development programs for adults.

Johnson, Willis L. (ed.), *Directory of Special Programs for Minority Group Members: Career Information Services, Employment Skills Banks, Financial Aid Sources*, Garrett Park Press, Maryland, 1975.

Kahne, Hilda, "Women in the Professions: Career Considerations and Job Placement Techniques," *Journal of Economic Issues*, Vol. 5, September 1971, pp. 28-41.
Job placement procedures are examined, such as the informal job network among men as opposed to formal procedures for women. Job placement techniques traditionally fit work and lifestyle of men, not women. Discussion and suggestions for actions which would encourage women into a wider range of occupations are given.

Lehmann, Phyllis E., "Someplace to Turn," *Manpower*, June 1972.
Washington Opportunities for Women (WOW) is an organization based in Washington, D.C. which provides counseling and information for women job seekers who need help. This article describes the working of the organization from its inception in 1966 to 1972.

Matthews, Esther, "Employment Implications of Psychological Characteristics of Men and Women," in Byham, William C. and Mildred Katzell (eds.), Women in the Work Force: Confrontation with Change, Behavioral Publications, New York, 1972.

Osipow, Samuel H., Emerging Woman: Career Analysis and Outlooks, Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, Columbus, Ohio, 1975.

Pogrebin, Letty C., Getting Yours--How to Make the System Work for You, David McKay Co., New York, 1975.
Using a conversational, humorous style, the author explores areas of employment: agencies, wages, unions as well as family dynamics of the women returning to work. According to the Bureau of Census study, union women earn median of $1,540 more per year than non-union sisters, but earnings of union men are still disproportionately higher than those of women.

Psathas, George, "Toward a Theory of Occupational Choice for Women," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 52, No. 2, January 1968, pp. 253-263.

Roby, Pamela Ann, Vocational Education and Women, University of California at Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz, Calif., 1975.

___________, "Women and American Higher Education," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 404, November 1972, pp. 118-139.

Roderick, R.D. and J. Davis, "Correlates of Atypical Occupational Assignment," Ohio State University, Center for Human Resource Research, Columbus, Ohio, 1972.

Rose, Harriett A. and Charles F. Elton, "Sex and Occupational Choice," Journal of Counseling Psychology, Vol. 18, No. 5, September 1971, pp. 456-461.

Shuval, Judith T., "Occupational Interests and Sex-Role Congruence," Human Relations, Vol. 16, No. 2, 1963, pp. 171-182.

Slaughter, Peggy Sue, "A Comparison of the Self Concept, Femininity, and Career Aspirations of College Senior Women Preparing for Typical and Atypical Occupations," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Mississippi State University, 1976.
A sample of senior women, classified as typical or atypical occupation chosers according to their field of study were given psychological tests. Findings were: there was no significant difference in self-concept between the typical and atypical occupation chosers, but there was a difference in "femininity" as measured by the Psychological Inventory Femininity Scale - the more traditional occupation oriented women perceived themselves as more feminine. Serious career aspirations were similar for both groups.

Tangri, Sandra, "Role-Innovation in Occupational Choice Among College Women," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1969.
This is a study of what background, personality or college experience characteristics might explain women's choice of occupations now dominated by men (role-innovation). Role-innovators expressed interest in a more varied number of fields, had a higher level of accomplishment to which they aspired, and a greater commitment to their vocations than did the traditional choice women. Greater autonomy and greater concern about self-identity were found to characterize the role-innovator.

Tiedeman, D.V., "Career Development of Women: Some Propositions," in David, O. (ed.), The Education of Women, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C., 1959.

Treas, Judith, "Occupational Attainment Processes of Mature American Women," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1976. Some of the determinants of occupational achievement among working women in the U.S. are studied - particularly race and sex-related differences affecting the attainment process - by analyzing their social origins, education and career beginnings. The implications of women's family roles, responsibilities and resources for job success are explored.

U.S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, "Continuing Education Programs and Services for Women," Pamphlet 10, Washington, D.C., 1971. Programs dealing with women and careers are listed state by state. Excellent bibliography regarding the same in Appendix F, Selected Readings.

Weil, Mildred, "An Analysis of Factors Influencing Married Women's Actual or Planned Work Participation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26, No. 1, 1961, pp. 91-96. Research attempted to discover elements related to actual or planned participation of married working women with children. Factors exerting negative or positive influence were: educational background of wife, special training of wife, wife's previous occupation, wife's working experience before marriage, children's ages, husband's attitude toward wife working or planning to work, husband's help with home and children. Findings show that career orientation of wife and favorable attitude of husband were the determining factors in influencing actual or planned participation. Children being of school age also is a contributing factor in women working. Analysis suggests additional research: 1) reasons other than financial which motivate a woman's participation; 2) changing attitudes toward working women and how this affects her husband; 3) part-time employment as an alternative; 4) differential significance of husband's assistance with household chores and child care in family unit.

Yu, M., "An Exploratory Study of Women in Traditional Male Professions and Traditionally Female Professions and the Role of Creativity in Their Career Choices," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1972.

VI. SPECIFIC NON-TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

A. Professional, Scientific and Technical

Alden, John D., "Women and Minorities in Engineering," Engineering Education, American Society for Engineering Education, July 1974. Summarizes available data on numbers of women and minority engineers. Data presented covers 1952-1972. Shows number and percentage of women engineers for each year of that 20-year span. While 51.8% of U.S. population, women are 1.6% of engineers.

Alexander, Rodney, The Short Changed: Women and Minorities in Banking, University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1974.

Alpenfels, Ethel J., "Women in the Professional World," in Cassara, Beverly Benner (ed.), American Women: The Changing Image, Beacon Press, Boston, Mass., 1962.

Archibald, Kathleen A., "Women in Banking," Banking, July 1973.

____________, Sizing Up the Future of Women, from a paper prepared for Research and Planning Commission of American Bankers Association, 1973, pp. 27-32. The banking industry is examined for equal opportunity for women; a gross imbalance, with men and women on different career paths continues to create unequal opportunities. Examples and suggestions given for changes.

Barcelona, Constance; Clara Lelievre and Thomas Lelievre, "The Profession's Underutilized Resource: The Woman CPA," Journal of Accounting, November 1975, pp. 58-64.
Article reports the experiences and comments of women in current accounting situations in a study conducted at the University of Cincinnati in 1974. Through questions, tables and charts the study examines: job satisfaction, attitudes toward job conditions, why women leave public accounting, and influence of government control on their fields.

Barnes, J., "Women and Entrance to the Legal Profession," Journal of Legal Education, Vol. 23, 1971, pp. 276-308.

Beck, E. Wilbur, "The Female Clergy: A Case of Professional Marginality," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 72, March 1967, pp. 531-539.

Bell, C.S., "Women in Science: Definitions and Data for Economic Analysis," in Kundsin, Ruth B. (ed.), Women and Success: The Anatomy of Achievement, Morrow, New York, 1974.

Bernard, Jesse, Academic Women, Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania, 1964.
Study of the sociology of academic women; includes a survey of the history of women in the American academic world. The writer analyzes motivations, backgrounds and career patterns of academic women and evaluates them in terms of creativity and productivity. Interesting insights into the dynamics among male and female students, professors, administrators. Compares salary, benefits, status between male and female on academic level. The female rates lower. Academic women as single women, wives, mothers discussed in depth.

Blitz, Rudolph C., "Women in the Professions," Monthly Labor Review, May 1974, pp. 34-39.
An in-depth article citing statistics describing women in the professions. The proportion of women in the labor force has grown, but the proportion of women in the professions reached its peak in 1930 and thereafter declined. Many women are in female professions, also, rather than there being a more even penetration of most professions.

Bowers, John Z., M.D., "Special Problems of Women Medical Students," Journal of Medical Education, Vol. 43, May 1968.
Suggests that women medical students share many of the problems faced by minorities, especially isolation, resentment and harassment. Examines traditional/career role conflict, difficulties of self-identity in a male-dominant system, problems of specialization choice and part-time vs. full-time residencies and employment.

Boyle, Barbara, "Equal Opportunity for Women Is Small Business," Harvard Business Review, May-June 1973.
A rebuttal to the oft-quoted myth that women's turnover is high because of frequent maternity leaves.

Bureau of Health Resources Development, Minorities and Women in the Health Fields, Public Health Service, May 1974.

Campbell, Margaret A., Why Would a Girl Go Into Medicine? Medical Education in the United States: A Guide for Women, Feminist Press, The Clearinghouse of Women's Studies, Old Westbury, New York, 1973.
Describes discriminatory practices of individual medical schools in detail; the book goes into institutional discrimination, recruiting, admissions, financial aid, overt discrimination, selecting a medical school, surviving as a medical student and the dynamics of discrimination against women. Examines the forms and varieties of discrimination and the coping mechanisms of the students, finding that all medical schools discriminate to some degree.

Cartwright, Lillian Kaufman, "Conscious Factors Entering into Decisions of Women to Study Medicine," Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 28, No. 12, 1972, pp. 201-215.
Discusses motivations and personalities of women medical school students at U.C. San Francisco. Encouragement from others, long standing interest, self-development motives and altruism appear most important. Economic and prestige factors, so important to male students, were seldom mentioned by women.

Cavanaugh, Aileen, "Present Opportunities for Women in Professional Engineering," Women in Professional Engineering, Society of Women Engineers, New York, 1962.

Commission on Human Resources, Doctoral Scientists and Engineers in the United States: 1973 Profile, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., 1974.

Diamond, M.C., "Women in Modern Science," Journal of the American Medical Women's Association, Vol. 18, November 1963, pp. 891-896.

Dinerman, Beatrice, "Sex Discrimination in the Legal Profession," American Bar Association Journal, Vol. 55, October 1969, pp. 951-954.

Dunlap, Jan, Personal and Professional Success for Women, Prentice-Hall, New York, 1972.

Epstein, Cynthia Fuchs, "Women Lawyers and Their Profession: Inconsistency of Social Controls and Their Consequences for Professional Performance," in Theodore, A. (ed.), The Professional Woman, Schenkman Publishing Co., Inc., Cambridge, Mass., 1971.

____________, "Women and Professional Careers: The Case of the Woman Lawyer," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, New York, 1968.

Furniss, Todd and Patricia Graham (eds.), Women in Higher Education, Washington American Council on Education, 1974.
This anthology surveys every imaginable aspect of women in colleges and universities. Below is a sampling of random topics: The Woman Student, Issues in Nepotism Rules, Maternity Leave Policies, Full Status Part-Time Faculty, Role of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Feminism and Black Liberation, Renewal Financing Cooperation, Tasks for Today, and Issues of Accountability.

Gardner, Gerald H.F., "The Status of Women in the Field of Computing," *Computers and Automation*, January 1970, pp. 57-58.
Old patterns of behavior begin to rigidify this new field.

Gibson, Elsie, *When the Minister Is a Woman*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1970.

Golde, Peggy (ed.), *Women in the Field*, Aldine Publishing Co., Chicago, Ill., 1970.
Twelve women anthropologists share their separate experiences and feelings while conducting research in the field in many different parts of the world. A chapter is devoted to each woman's specific experience. This book gives a glimpse into the lives and thoughts of these women while involved in their work.

Goldman, Nancy, "The Changing Role of Women in the Armed Forces," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 78, No. 4, 1973, pp. 892-911.

Grossblat, Martha and Betty Sikes, *Women Lawyers*, American Bar Association, Chicago, 1971.

Guiliani, Betty and John A. Centre, "The Woman Veterinarian," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, Vol. 46, June 1968, pp. 971-975.
Examines differential factors influencing selection of the profession by men and women. Women's choice was more influenced by pet ownership, contact with horses, wish to relieve suffering of animals and parental impact. Men's choice arose more from familiarity with farm experience.

Harris, Ann Sutherland, "The Second Sex in Academe," American Association of University Professors, *A.A.U.P. Bulletin*, Fall 1970, pp. 283-295.
Examines stereotypes (held by many men) in academic settings, and higher demands made on women to succeed. Women who do enter "non-traditional" areas must be super. Moreover, upgrading some female dominated professions such as librarian consists of getting more males into it, e.g. improve status, increase salaries. Statistics of discrimination toward female faculty are given. Nepotism policies are examined for their discriminatory effects. Effects of sex-segregated schools and coed schools are examined. A comprehensive book covering all aspects of academia related to women.

"Health Care Services--1980's No. 1 Work Industry," *Encore*, May 5, 1975, pp. 47-49.
Breaks down various careers in the health fields. One new area, physician's assistant, is mentioned. Career preparation, function, salary ranges given.

Holmstrom, Engin, "Trends and Career Changes in the Health Fields: A Comparison with other Disciplines; Executive Summary," Policy Analysis Service, American Council on Education, submitted to HEW, HRD, HRA, Washington, D.C., August 1974.
Summary of the Holmstrom report, based on a three-phase national study of students at institutions of higher learning in fields related to health. Analyses of change in career choice over time as well as by race and sex.

____________, and Robert Holmstrom, "The Plight of Woman Doctoral Student," *American Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 11, Winter 1974, pp. 1-17.

Keiffer, Miriam G., and Dallas M. Cullen, "Discrimination Experienced by Academic Female Psychologists," Know, Inc., Pittsburgh, Pa., 1969.
Results of a questionnaire sent to 314 female psychologists and 51 male psychologists in May 1969 are used to document the subtle and unsubtle discrimination experienced by women psychologists. Tables breaking down the results of the questionnaire into different areas are presented and the reader is left to make her own conclusions.

Kosa, John and Robert E. Coker, Jr., "The Female Physician in Public Health: Conflict and Reconciliation of the Professional and Sex Roles," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 49, April 1965, p. 295.

Lamson, Peggy, Few Are Chosen; American Women in Political Life Today, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, Mass., 1968.

Law, Margaret (ed.), Goals for Women in Science, Women in Science and Engineering, Boston, Mass., 1972.

Linn, Erwin L., "Women Dentists: Career and Family," Social Problems, Vol. 18, Winter 1971, pp. 393-404.
Examines career experience of women dentists based on a questionnaire sent to all women dentists in the U.S. Discusses work hours, interruptions in work, marriage, mobility, etc.

Mattfeld, Jacqueline A. and Carol G. Van Aken (eds.), Women and the Scientific Professions, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1965.

Matthews, Margie R., "The Training and Practice of Women Physicians: A Case Study," Journal of Medical Education, Vol. 45, No. 12, 1970, pp. 1016-1024.
An examination of training, attitudes toward, and status of women physicians, based on investigations at the Duke University Medical Center. Lack of encouragement led to high attrition rates of premeds. The women faced financial problems and suffered from limited career counseling, child care options and possibilities of part-time training. Hostility to an increase of women in medicine emerged from the study.

Nadelson, Carol and Malkah T. Notman, "The Woman Physician," Journal of Medical Education, Vol. 41, No. 1, 1972, pp. 176-183.
More women would be accepted to medical schools given a high ratio if admission were based on merit alone. Examines discouragement of medicine as a career choice, problems of self-identification as a student, lack of role models, etc. Finds that 91% of women doctors are practicing physicians.

New York Academy of Sciences Annals, Vol. 208, Successful Women in the Sciences: An Analysis of Determinants, 1973.

Palmeri, Fran, "The Case for Non-Traditional Work," Women's Work, July/August 1975, pp. 4-5.
Equal opportunity exists only under the law. Non-traditional occupations include engineering, doctoring, driving, drafting, engraving, accounting, teaching college level. Out of 197 occupations compiled by U.S. Dept. of Labor, 155 employ more men than women. In 99 occupations women make up 25% or less of the workforce. Although 40% of labor force is female, the majority of women workers are found in less than a quarter of all occupations. Remainder in sales, management private household work or operational work. College women are in six fields: elementary

and secondary teachers, 50%; nursing; social work; library; home economics; medical library. Nontraditional work is where the jobs are. Bureau of Labor statistics projects that in the next ten years the high demand occupations will be in medicine, business, sales, management and skilled trades.

Parrish, John B., "Professional Womanpower as a National Resource," Quarterly Review of Economics and Business, Vol. 1, 1961, pp. 54-63.
Groups work of women in America in three categories: 1) short-term, low-skilled... seasonal/supplementary to other activities; 2) long-term, low-medium-skilled... second occupation in life after children leave home; 3) long-term, high-skilled... includes advanced academic training. Deals with measures to analyze statistics of women in category three; discusses ways to resolve career-marriage barriers. Somewhat dated, with attitudes prevalent in 1960's; written for select group.

____________, "Women in Professional Training," Monthly Labor Review, May 1974, pp. 41-43.
Women traditionally have been vastly underrepresented in most professions. However, the number of women is increasing rapidly in the eight professions studied (architecture, dentistry, engineering, law, medicine, optometry, pharmacy, veterinary medicine) in this report (1972 statistics). First year enrollment is up from the 1960 figures for every profession. For example, women were 6% of total enrollment in architecture, but 11% of first year enrollment. Other proportions were law, 12% and 16%, medicine, 13% and 17%, optometry, 5% and 8%, veterinary medicine, 14% and 19%. We still have a way to go to 51%, but it is an upward trend!

Perruci, C.C., "Minority Status and the Pursuit of Professional Careers: Women in Science and Engineering," Social Forces, Vol. 49, December 1970, pp. 245-258.
Beginning with type of employment and work place, there were employment differences by sex shown in this study of graduates in science and engineering (classes of 1947 through 1964). Detailed analysis is shown of results for noncareerist and careerist women and men, comparing initial job and current job, confirming that men are more likely to have higher levels of responsibility and higher salary. The differences are twice as great among engineers as among scientists.

Porter, Dixie Mathis, Women in Personnel, A Report to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Business Administration in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Business Administration, May 24, 1957.
An in-depth study of women in personnel. It has sections on Women in the Working World, Education of Women, Limitations on Women's Advancement in Personnel, and Survey of the International Association of Personnel Women. The entire work stresses the need and the growing opportunities of women in personnel.

Professional Women's Caucus, Sixteen Reports on the Status of Women in the Professions, Know, Inc., Pittsburgh, Pa., 1970.
Kate Millett, Florence Howe, Lucinder Asler and Doris Sassower are among the women reporting on the status of women in general and in their profession; the sixteen statements were presented at a conference of professional and academic women, April 1970.

Reverby, Susan, "Health: Women's Work," Health/PAC Bulletin, No. 40, April 1972, pp. 15-20.

Rogers, Martha P., "Employment of Minorities and Women in Commercial Banking," Office of Research, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Research Report #32, January 1971.

Rossi, Alice, "Barriers to the Career Choice of Engineering, Medicine or Science Among American Women," in Mattfeld and Van Aken (eds.), Women and the Scientific Professions, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1965, pp. 51-127.
Presents considerable data on female labor force participation in engineering, medicine and science and comprehensively deals with questions of job discrimination including influences on career choice, barriers to entry and other aspects of the acculturation process, such as the values and attitudes conveyed to a developing girl by our entire society.

____________, "Who Wants Women in the Scientific Professions?" in Mattfeld and Van Aken (eds.), Women in the Scientific Professions, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1965.

____________, "Women in Science: Why So Few?" in Safilios-Rothschild, Constantina (ed.), Toward a Sociology of Women, Xerox College Publishing, Lexington, Mass., 1972, pp. 141-153.
Focuses on values and attitudes discouraging entry into science and to disrupting job experience of women. Argues against sex-role stereotyping and for a more equal distribution of domestic and family responsibility.

Salembier, Olive and Alfred C. Ingersoll (eds.), Women in Engineering and Management, New England College, Henniker, N.H., 1972 (Proceedings for Engineering Foundation Conference, July 16-21, 1972).

Samuels, Catherine, The Forgotten Five Million: Women in Public Employment (A Guide to Eliminating Sex Discrimination), Women's Action Alliance, Inc., Faculty Press, Inc., Brooklyn, New York, 1975.
Text covers issues concerning women in the labor force, e.g. job placement, management, salaries, training benefits and leaves policies. Also includes informal and formal legal remedies and tools to use in the face of discriminatory policies or practices. In-depth discussions of affirmative action.

Sassower, Doris L., "Women in the Law: The Second Hundred Years," American Bar Association Journal, Vol. 57, April 1971, pp. 329-332.

Splaver, Sarah, Ph.D., Non Traditional Careers for Women, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1973.
This book covers more than 500 nontraditional occupations which offer employment for women. Discusses in detail careers in law, medicine, helping professions, science and math, engineering, the creative arts, business, manual trades and government services in which women haven't been employed in large numbers. If possible, author presents history of women in occupation, number of women, nature of work, qualifications and preparation necessary for entry into occupation, entrance and advancement, places of employment, advantages and disadvantages, supply and demand of workers in occupations, and future outlook for women.

Stevenson, Gloria, "New Opportunities for Women in Police Work," Force of Change, Winter 1972, pp. 12-15.
Describes how range of law enforcement jobs open to Police Women have opened up to American women over the years. (In 1911, Los Angeles had been the first city to appoint women to its police force.) Article speaks of figures for women in city, state and federal levels of law enforcement, training, problems women encounter, rates of pay and competition levels. Contacts and addresses for additional information are provided.

Strainchamps, Ethel (ed.), Rooms With No View: A Woman's Guide to the Man's World of the Media, Harper and Row, New York, 1974.
Sixty-five women who work in the publishing and television industries discuss their jobs, remaining anonymous in most cases, as they go into what it's been like for them to work in these fields.

Strober, M.H., "Women Economists: Career Aspirations, Education and Training," American Economic Review, Vol. 65, No. 2, May 1975, pp. 92-99.
Examines factors leading women economists registered with the American Economics Association to choose the economics profession. Notes that while only 3% had made a decision to go into economics before entering college, the majority had made a commitment to choose a career while still in high school.

Tash, Rosalia; Michael W. Dickson and Christopher A. Rodowskas, "Women in the Professional Work Force," Journal of the American Pharmaceutical Association, Vol. NS13, No. 11, November 1973.

Theodore, Athena (ed.), The Professional Woman, Schenkman Publishing Co., Cambridge, Mass., 1971.
Readings concerned with the past and present trends of professional women, with changes in the sexual structure of professions and the importance of culture and the various institutions which define professional roles for women being studied.

U.S. Civil Service Commission, Study of Employment of Women in the Federal Government, 1967, prepared by the Bureau of Manpower Information Systems, Manpower Statistics Division, Washington, D.C., 1968.

U.S. Civil Service Commission, Bureau of Manpower Information Systems, Study of Employment of Women in the Federal Government, 1970, Pamphlet SM62-06, Washington, D.C., 1971.

U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Health Resources Administration, Minorities and Women in the Health Fields, Washington, D.C., May 1974.

U.S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, Careers for Women as Technicians, Bulletin 282, Washington, D.C., 1961.

U.S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, Careers for Women in Conservation, Leaflet 50, Washington, D.C., 1969.

U.S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, Careers for Women in the '70's, Washington, D.C., 1973.

U.S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, Changes in Women's Occupations 1940-50, Bulletin No. 253, Washington, D.C., 1954.

U.S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, Fact Sheet on Women in Professional and Technical Positions, Washington, D.C., 1967.

U.S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, Women of the 90th Congress, Washington, D.C., 1967.

U.S. National Science Foundation, American Science Manpower, 1964: A Report of the National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel, Washington, D.C., 1966.

Vetter, Betty M. and Eleanor L. Babco, Professional Women and Minorities, A Manpower Data Resource Service, Scientific Manpower Commission, Washington, D.C., May 1975, updated 1976.

Wasserman, Elga and Arie Y. Lewin (eds.), Women in Academia: Evolving Policies Toward Equal Opportunities, Praeger, New York, 1975.

White, J.J., "Women in the Law," in Theodore, A. (ed.), The Professional Woman, Schenkman Publishing Co., Inc., Cambridge, Mass., 1971.

Williams, Phoebe A., "Women in Medicine: Some Themes and Variations," Journal of Medical Education, Vol. 46, 1971, pp. 584-591.
Based on a survey of Radcliffe alumni who graduated from medical school, it explores aspects of career choice, and basic concerns. Motivation was interest in subject area, desire to be of service and need for independence. Encouragement was an important influence. Concerns were financial and those of combining careers and marriage.

Women, Business and Industry, Detroit Free Press, Detroit, Michigan, 1972.

"Women in Engineering," Engineering Manpower Bulletin, May 1972.

"Women Sought by Engineering," The Monday Paper, University of California, Berkeley, Calif., May 14, 1973.

"Women Students in U.S. Medical Schools: Past and Present Trends," Journal of Medical Education, Vol. 48, February 1973, pp. 186-189.

B. Management

"Barbs that Hurt Businesswomen," Business Week, February 19, 1972, pp. 50+.
A straight-forward article about the many areas in which executive women are greatly mistreated in the "man's world". Ten gripes of the women are listed, ranging from meetings being held in all male clubs to separate elevators for the women.

Basil, Douglas C., Women in Management, Dunellen Press, New York, 1972.

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C. Blue Collar

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